

**THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CURRICULUM
CHANGE IN MORAL EDUCATION
IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
IN
HONG KONG**

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ABSTRACT

In Hong Kong the body responsible for administration of schools and curriculum affairs is the Education Department. In 1981, this body issued the 'General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools'. At a time when most schools did not have any form of planned or systematic approach to moral education, this was a milestone in the history of curriculum development in the Territory. In another respect these Guidelines revolutionised curriculum change in the Territory in that school-centred strategy was adopted as opposed to the central control traditionally maintained by the central agency, i.e. the Education Department.

This study aims at finding out how administrators and teachers in secondary schools responded to the curriculum change, how they implemented it and the results of the change. Three secondary schools with different backgrounds were studied in great depth using ethnographic research methods. Curriculum leaders and teachers of another eight schools were interviewed with a view to refining the propositions developed from these in-depth multi-site case studies.

Moral education had, indeed been institutionalised in all the schools studied but most of them did not follow the recommendations of the central agency. The implemented curriculum was characterised by content directed towards students' disciplinary problems, a tendency to pass on a set of values to the students, ineffective use of pupil-centred teaching methods and audio-visual aids, and neglect of evaluation.

The schools and teachers did not receive adequate support and resources from the central agency to implement this curriculum change. The curriculum users therefore had to scale down the recommended change to manageable proportions according to their own interpretation and the demands of their environment. For example, there was conscious avoidance of the integrated approach recommended in the Guidelines.

In making curriculum decisions, school personnel tend to make a 'practical' stance. They are strongly influenced by the 'culture of teaching'. The over-riding importance of public examination in the Hong Kong system, inevitably lowers the status of moral education in the eyes of the school personnel. A strong subject identity, another characteristic of the teaching culture, clouds teachers' perception of their professional responsibility. The emphasis on privacy and teachers' autonomy in the classroom, over-concern for disciplinary problems all affect the implementation of curriculum change in moral education.

This study reveals the implementation problems that are present when a school-centred strategy is adopted without adequate support and resources to back it up. It is a lesson which curriculum developers in Hong Kong should take seriously in future developments.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The curriculum development system in Hong Kong has, for quite a long time, been a centre-periphery one (Morris, 1982). Curriculum decisions and changes are firmly in the grip of the Education Department and the Hong Kong Examinations Authority through the control of public examinations, the inspection system and regulations on the use of teaching materials. The lack of professional training in curriculum development on the part of the teaching staff further inhibits school-based curriculum development in both primary and secondary schools (Morris, 1982; McClelland, 1988; Wong, 1988). In 1981, when the Education Department started to change the curriculum in moral education, the curriculum development strategy was somewhat surprisingly shifted to one resembling a school-centred one. It is not clear why this shift of policy was made, but information from an official closely associated with the change, suggests that it was a bureaucratic means to get around the problem of finding a suitable moral education curriculum acceptable to all interest groups. Nevertheless, no matter what the reason for it, the adoption of a school-centred strategy was an unprecedented move.

As moral education is not included in public examinations, one of the key constraints on school-based curriculum development (Wong, 1988) was removed. The Advisory Inspectorate, the chief administrative arm in the supervision of school curriculum development, took a 'laissez-faire' attitude towards the implementation work in schools. This, together with the official policy stated in the General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools, means that schools can decide what to teach, how to teach it and how to evaluate their work and that of the pupils.

The call to establish moral education was not accompanied by the necessary increase in resources for dissemination and implementation from the central agency. Instead, the level of resourcing (including staffing, financial support, physical facilities and teaching materials) put into this curriculum change, was even less than that usually allocated to other subject curriculum changes. Since the launching of the initiative, a number of years have elapsed. Despite numerous difficulties, for example, the teachers' inexperience and lack of training, lack of teaching materials, shortage of financial support, some schools have, perhaps surprisingly, managed to construct moral education programmes and have institutionalised the change. However, there has been virtually no research on the outcome of the change and how school personnel (including principals and teachers) reacted and adapted to it. The present study is an investigation of how teachers and schools responded to the curriculum change and developed programmes for their pupils.

II. THE AIMS OF THIS STUDY

Almost all curriculum evaluation research aims at judging the effectiveness of curriculum innovation. In the late sixties and early seventies,

‘The dominant mode of evaluation took a “black box” view of the process and context of implementation, concentrating on the measurement of student learning outcomes’ (Simons, 1987, p.68).

In the early seventies more and more evaluators began to adopt a broader perspective in their work. Changes in teachers’ attitudes, improvements in the school climate and other side-effects were all taken into consideration in evaluating the success of curriculum innovations.

The present study differs from the curriculum evaluation research described above. Its main purpose is not so much to judge the effectiveness of the innovation, as to find out how schools responded to the demand for change, how they adapted to the change, and what the products of the change were. It falls into the category of curriculum implementation research.

Exploring the implementation process is likely to deepen our understanding of what leads to the success or failure of curriculum change (Leithwood, 1982; Fullan, 1982). With the considerable amount of work carried out by curriculum theorists and curriculum developers, Fullan et al. (1986) claims that our understanding of curriculum change has greatly improved. However, it is still far from complete. This is particularly true in the case of developing countries. It is hoped that this research will provide data and generate hypotheses which will help to improve our understanding of curriculum development and contribute to our knowledge of curriculum change.

It has to be stressed that, although this study includes a review of the curriculum used in schools, its aim is not to evaluate the programme by judging changes in students’ behaviour and values. In fact, its purpose is to reveal the key curriculum elements, like, for instance, the structure and content of the programme, teaching strategies and teaching methods, since these elements illustrates how teachers and schools implemented the curriculum change in their context. Whether these products are good or not is not the concern of this study. Readers may make their own judgments on this aspect of the work.

III. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this study is to reveal the implementation process of moral education programmes in secondary schools in Hong Kong. The environment (context) of change in many ways affects the implementation process in schools (Elmore, 1978; Fullan, 1982; Hall & Hord, 1987; English, 1988). To understand thoroughly the response and work of the schools and teachers with respect to the change, it is therefore, necessary to ask:

What was the context of change in the development of moral education in Hong Kong?

Therefore, this is the first research question in this study. The context of change is broad and multifarious, so it is necessary to break it down into a number of sub-questions, namely:

1. How did the change in the curriculum come about?
2. What dissemination and implementation strategies were adopted by the central agency, i.e. the Education Department?
3. What were the resources provided by the central agency and other interest groups such as academic institutions, publishers and voluntary social services agencies?
4. What effects did these have on the implementation process and the work of the teachers?

The second research question is:

What form did the moral education programme take?

The key elements of a curriculum include aims, content, teaching strategy and teaching methods.

This suggests the following sub-questions:

1. How was the programme structured?
2. What were the values which teachers aimed to pass on to students?
3. What was included in the content?
4. What were the main teaching strategies used?
5. What were the teaching methods used?

Since any actual change may be different from that recommended, a sub-question of this second major research question is:

6. How far does the school programme differ from that suggested in the official guidelines?

The third research question is:

What are the characteristics of the implementation process in school?

The term implementation as used here includes initiation, adoption and the work of putting the change into practice in school. As implementation is a very complicated process, a number of sub-questions guide the study:

1. How was the curriculum initiated in the schools?
2. How was the adoption decision made?
3. What modifications and changes were made to the curriculum after the innovation was put into practice?
4. What were the roles of the principals, teachers and other groups involved?
5. What difficulties did the curriculum users encounter and how did they tackle them?

The above research questions are intended to illuminate and deepen our understanding of the implementation process.

IV. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The call to revive moral education was developed via a school-centred strategy which deviates sharply from the centre-periphery model adopted for many years in Hong Kong. Although this study is not meant to be a summative evaluation study, by understanding how some schools reacted to the changes and what happened in the classroom, policy makers and curriculum developers may

be helped to think reflectively about the suitability of the dissemination and implementation strategies they adopt and also about the context of change (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). If first hand 'objective' information is available, it is more likely that lessons will be learnt and mistakes avoided in the future.

Following the development of moral education, civic education and sex education were developed by means of similar strategies. Unfortunately, there is very limited serious academic research from which school personnel can learn about the suitability of, and the problems commonly encountered with this strategy, and what they could and should do. The present study is intended to help meet this need.

In Hong Kong, there are few empirical studies of curriculum development. Owing to its small size, both in terms of area and population, the number of academics working on school curriculum is limited. However, the development of Hong Kong's economy has meant that Hong Kong is emerging as a more developed area in terms of economic production. With more resources, a greater emphasis will be placed on the quality of education through improvements in the curriculum, training of teachers and so on. Inviting prominent educationalists to review the education system in Hong Kong in 1981 and the subsequent setting up of the Education Commission are concrete signs of this trend. The announcement of the pilot scheme of school-based curriculum development and the restructuring of the curriculum development system in 1988 also point in this direction. The present study, which aims to review the implementation process in schools, the curriculum users' reactions, the problems they face and their ability in tackling difficulties, will suggest the necessary conditions which should lead to the success of future attempts to develop the curriculum.

Data and ideas derived from this study should also enrich the literature on implementation. Despite the strenuous efforts of many curriculum theorists and curriculum developers, there are still many 'black holes' in the curriculum development and implementation theories waiting to be explored. An example is the rationale adopted by teachers in making decisions about the implementation of curriculum change. The only way to improve our understanding of curriculum change is through studies of a large number of curriculum developments in different contexts (Stenhouse, 1980). The moral education development in Hong Kong is school-centred, where the schools have no previous experience in curriculum development and the users lack training in curriculum development (Wong, 1989; Lo, 1989) and moral education, as well as support and resources. This situation is very similar to that in many developing countries. Education research on developing countries is badly needed (Little, 1988). It therefore provides a good chance to further our understanding of the implementation process, especially in the developing countries, and shed light on the 'black holes' in implementation studies.

Lastly, the call to develop moral education has become fashionable in many countries. For example, in the U.S., the U.K., Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan and China, efforts have been made to

develop moral education. In Hong Kong, the teachers and schools have virtually complete freedom to design their curriculum and this, therefore, provides an excellent opportunity for moral educators to get to know how teachers and principals perceive and respond to moral education and what they think is important in this area. Therefore, this study, though basically an implementation study, should also be of interest to moral educators.

V. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

To minimize misunderstandings, it is necessary to clarify some of the terms used widely in this study.

A. *CHANGE AND INNOVATION*

'In everyday usage, the words change and innovation are frequently used interchangeably' (Nicholls, 1983, p.2), but in research work, they have to be distinguished. Miles (1964) states, 'Innovation is a species of the genus "change". Generally speaking, it seems useful to define an innovation as a deliberate, novel, specific change, which is thought to be more efficacious in accomplishing the goals of a system' (p.14)

Morrish (1976) supports this view,

'We would agree with the general distinction which M.B. Miles makes between "change" and "innovation", namely, that innovation is clearly more planned, deliberate, routinized and willed than change which tends to be spontaneous' (p.22).

Havelock & Huberman (1977) emphasize 'planning' as marking the key distinction between change and innovation. According to them,

'The essential difference between innovation and change lies in the fact that innovation is planned, the idea being that through planning, one can increase the chances of bringing about the desired change' (p.137).

But Bolam (1986) does not use 'planning' to distinguish change and innovation. He states, 'I shall use "change" as a generic term to cover unplanned developments (such as declining student enrollments) as well as planned developments: both have to be managed' (p.314).

On the other hand, Adams and Chen (1981) define innovation as,

'any persisting change in the patterns of behaviour of members of an identifiable social system' (p.224).

The above examples illustrate the divergent views about what characterizes 'innovation'. To avoid this confusion, it is better to use the more general term 'change' which connotes attempts, proposals, efforts to modify or alter peoples' existing practices and/or beliefs.

The decision to use 'curriculum change' rather than 'curriculum innovation' to describe the attempts, proposals and efforts to develop moral education in schools in Hong Kong stems also from practical considerations. As later chapters show, the way the curriculum change was initiated and adopted varied sharply between schools. In one case, the curriculum change was started without much planning, while in other cases, more planning work had been carried out. According to Miles

(1964), 'novelty' is a criterion of innovation. But the central agency stated in the official policy paper on moral education that moral education had already been developed and included in the whole curriculum. The change proposed was just an attempt to strengthen it. This assertion by the central agency was, as Chapter Five makes clear, not true, and this adds to the problem of using the term 'innovation' to describe the curriculum development studied in the present project. In the light of these differences in usage, a more general and less problematic term, i.e. 'curriculum change', will be used to describe the alterations and modifications to moral education which are the theme of this study.

B. IMPLEMENTATION

Another frequently used term which needs to be clarified is 'implementation'. In essence, it concerns putting a change into practice. Bennis (1966) considered that implementation, 'encompasses a process which includes the creation in a client-system of understanding of, and commitment to, a particular change which can solve problems and devices whereby it can become integral to the client-system's operation' (p.175) (quoted in Gross et al, 1971, p.8).

According to this view, implementation involves a number of sub-processes, namely initiation, adoption and institutionalisation in the client-system which usually means the school in educational changes. The change being implemented should lead to improvement(s) in the client-system, i.e. the school.

Fullan & Park (1981) define implementation similarly. They state,

'implementation is *changing practice* (with the emphasis on actual rather than assumed use). More fully, implementation is the process of altering existing practice in order to achieve more effectively certain desired learning outcomes for students' (p.6).

The essence of implementation, in their eyes, is the changing of practice to improve learning. This 'action' element is also emphasized by Leithwood (1982).

Hurst (1983) also points out that implementation is 'essentially... (a process) of translating ideas into action' (p.7). From the above, it can be said that there is a consensus that implementation is the attempt to put proposals for change into practice. However, it is doubtful whether the only reason why people attempt to put a change into practice is to improve the quality of learning and/or teaching. Should an attempt to carry out a change which does not bring an improvement, be called implementation? With this doubt in mind, implementation should be considered as the process of putting a change into practice only.

Implementation process in school can be divided into a number of stages, namely, initiation, trial, adoption and institutionalisation. Throughout these stages, evaluation work may be carried out to judge the suitability, value and effects (both positive and negative) of the change. Such division into stages may not reflect the real world situation as life is not so orderly (Adams & Chen, 1981). 'The

"stages" did not emerge empirically as de facto stages at all' (Adams & Chen, 1981, p.225). It is more realistic to consider them as sub-processes, each of which is more active than others at certain periods in the implementation process but which may go on concurrently.

C. MORAL EDUCATION

The focus of this research is on the moral education programmes worked out by school personnel. It is necessary therefore to determine what moral education is. From a seminar organised by the Education Department in 1981 to discuss the nature and implementation of moral education in schools, it is clear that teachers and principals in Hong Kong have divergent views on what moral education is. The following are some examples:

"Moral education" (is) all the help, guidance and example given to students so as to enable them to grow to a deeper understanding of themselves and others, to develop the right attitudes and values and to develop the skill to make freely right and good decisions.' (Edu. Dept. , 1981a, p.37)

'For non-religious schools, "moral education" could be regarded as ethics or in a broader sense, education in preparation for life. For religious schools, "moral education" could be interpreted as religious education.' (op cit., p.39)

'Moral education is about some kind of training-and-learning process by which pupils come to acquire the proper values leading to socially acceptable behaviour.' (op cit., p.41).

The above quotations show that participants' views on what moral education is are far from identical. The only thing they have in common is the perception that moral education is something to do with teaching about 'values' which affect and shape pupils' behaviour.

The definition given by the central agency, i.e. the Education Department, is very broad. The General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools states,

'Moral education should aim at cultivating in the pupils moral attitudes and social values through the development of reflective or critical thinking' (Edu. Dept., 1981b, p.2).

When one looks closely into the topics and teaching strategy suggested, the breadth of the definition is even more apparent. The content suggested includes sex education, civic education, political education, personal education, social education, family life education and religious education. The distinctive theme here is the focus on the teaching of values, rather than the passing on of facts or the development of psychomotor skills.

Academics also find it difficult to define moral education. Unlike other academic subjects such as physics, chemistry, geography or history, moral education does not have a commonly accepted boundary (Wilson et al., 1967; Taylor, 1975). After a large-scale conference on moral education, Beck et al. (1971) reported that,

'the conference papers express a variety of views about the nature and scope of moral education and about the proper use of the term "moral education"' (p.8).

May (1971) has also identified a similar problem,

'One constant problem for anyone who takes part in discussion about morality or moral education is to know exactly what people mean by the various terms they use. Words like "moral", "morality", "ethics", "character", are not easily defined and they have overtones of meaning which vary, depending upon the context in which they are being used' (p.16).

The controversy about how to define moral education partly arises from the attempt to relate the definition to teaching methods and teaching strategy. Beck et al. (1971) report that Kohlberg and Baier both insist that moral education is different from moral conditioning or moral training. Kohlberg (1975a) writes, '... moral reasoning is a distinctively moral component in Moral Education' (p.85). To him, attempting to teach moral values without fully engaging the students' reasoning powers is not considered to be moral education.

Wilson et al. (1967) state that in carrying out moral education, 'we are setting out to give them some idea about *how to do* morality (to put it crudely)' (p.26). However, people define morality in different ways (Peters, 1979b). To Wilson (1972), morality is something to do with moral components including PHIL (concern for people), EMP (awareness of feelings), GIG (facts and know-how) and KRAT (noticing and deciding, translation into action). Kelly (1978) defines morality differently. He writes,

'morality is not only a matter of big issues of world-shattering importance ... Morality is essentially concerned with human relationships of all kinds, even those which may appear to be quite trivial' (p.49).

On the other hand, Hersh et al. (1980) consider morality as depending,

'on the orchestration of humane caring, objective thinking and determined action Morality is neither good motives nor right reason nor resolute action; it is all three' (p.2).

The ambiguity and controversy about what moral education is have increased as more and more terms belonging to the 'moral and values' basket are used by teachers and educators. Examples are social education, personal education, life education, political education, civic education, values education and sex education. These terms are, in various ways, related to moral education but the delineation of them is far from clearly marked. Quicke (1985), for example, points out that 'there was an unclear relationship between personal and social education and the "pastoral curriculum"' (p.91). Hargreaves et al. (1988) treat pastoral care and PSE as two fairly different components. On the other hand, Harlett (1983) writes, 'while logically the two areas of study (moral education and religious education) are separate, the two are often combined in popular thought' (p.43). Social education is used by Stradling (1986) as, 'a kind of catch-all label' including 'political education, moral education, media studies, peace studies, health education and so on' (p.22), while McPhail (1982) holds a much narrower definition of it,

‘Social education passes on to those living in a society the traditions, practices and rules that govern behaviour in that society, whether they are taught consciously or unconsciously. Moral education, on the other hand, is concerned with the principles and behaviour that individuals are taught they have an obligation to adopt or develop because they are inherently right, whatever a particular society advocates’ (p.2).

These divergent views on what moral education is, vividly illustrate the problem of drafting a commonly accepted and precise definition. It seems very likely that we will have to be satisfied with a broad description of moral education if we are looking for a widely agreed definition of this term. Taking all these considerations into account, the working definition of moral education adopted in this research must necessarily be broad enough to accommodate the different views held by the subjects of this study. Moral education is, therefore, seen as ‘teaching and learning activities related to pupils’ acquisition of values and related skills and dispositions’.

Responsibility for moral education can be divided between the ‘curriculum’ and ‘social context’. The ‘curriculum’ sets out directly to morally educate people while the ‘social context’ ‘leaves it for the pupils to learn from their social experiences’ (Wilson, 1969, p.viii). Put in another way, the ‘curriculum’ covers explicit attempts to teach and the ‘social context’ covers the implicit ones. This is sometimes known as the ‘hidden curriculum’.

In the past, the main channel of moral education was through the hidden curriculum provided by the ethos of the school, for example, obeying school rules, wearing school uniform (Yung, 1981, p.12). But by the late seventies, this was found to be inadequate, so there were calls for a more carefully planned, properly structured explicit attempt to teach values. As the call to revive moral education in Hong Kong in 1981 aimed at developing planned and explicit moral education, this study will centre on *explicit* and *planned* attempts to develop values teaching.

Many studies on curriculum development and implementation have been conducted in various parts of the world. Their findings and experiences will be very helpful in guiding the researcher in deciding what to look for and how to find out the answers to the above research questions. To this, we turn in the next chapter which is on the state of art.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

'An important lesson of the so-called "Decade of Reform" (1965-1975) is that even the "best" educational practice is unlikely to fulfill its promise in the hands of an inadequately trained or unmotivated teacher. We have learned that the problem of reform or change is more a function of people and organisation than of technology' (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978, p.69)

I. INTRODUCTION

The title of Patterson & Czajkowski's article published in 1979, 'Implementation: neglected phase in curriculum change' indicates how late consideration of curriculum implementation captured the interest of curriculum developers. Studies of curriculum implementation grew out of the studies of curriculum change which had failed to provide in-depth insights into the outcomes of the change. In the sixties and early seventies, an attempt to change the approach in the study of curriculum change was sparked off. The cultural perspective, which stresses the importance of the values of the people involved and considers that the study of implementation as a way of understanding curriculum change has become more popular among curriculum researchers. Writers with this interest as well as some researchers adopting the political perspectives see the study of implementation as a necessary step to understanding educational change. This marks the rise of implementation studies. The first section of this chapter provides a brief description of the historical development of implementation studies in relation to the shift of perspectives in curriculum change studies.

The second part is devoted to a review of the state of the art of implementation. Implementation studies stress the importance of looking into how schools (as organisations) and school personnel, put a curriculum into practice. The key issues here, namely the relative importance of the principal and the teachers, how school personnel make curricular decisions and what affects their decisions, will be reviewed.

Finally, this chapter discusses the issues and problems of implementing moral education which is both value-laden and controversial.

It should be noted that research on curriculum change is mostly carried out in North America and Britain and the literature reviewed in this chapter draws heavily on the Anglo-American experience. Because of differences in culture, historical background and socio-economic background, the experience in the Western world should not be treated as directly and wholly transferable to the developing areas (Little, 1988). Part of the purpose of this study is to find out whether these Anglo-American experiences are applicable to Hong Kong.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRICULUM CHANGE THEORIES

A. *THE COMPLEXITIES OF CURRICULUM CHANGE*

The success or failure of planned educational changes is controlled by a large number of factors (see for example Corwin, 1975; Havelock & Huberman, 1977; Hurst, 1983; Becher & Maclure, 1980; Fullan & Park, 1981; Fullan, 1982; Wang et al., 1984). Fullan (1982), for example, gives a list of the factors influencing curriculum change which include:

- 'A. *Characteristics of the change*
 - 1. Need and relevance of the change
 - 2. Clarity
 - 3. Complexity
 - 4. Quality and practicality of program (materials etc.)

- B. *Characteristics at the school district level*
 - 5. The history of innovative attempts
 - 6. The adoption process
 - 7. Central administrative support and involvement
 - 8. Staff development (in-service) and participation
 - 9. Time-line and information system (evaluation)
 - 10. Board and community characteristics

- C. *Characteristics at the school level*
 - 11. The principal
 - 12. Teacher-teacher relations
 - 13. Teacher characteristics and orientations

- D. *Characteristics external to the local system*
 - 14. Role of government
 - 15. External assistance' (p.56)

This list, though long, is far from exhaustive. Just taking into account the number of factors affecting the outcome of curriculum changes, we already have some idea of the complexity of curriculum change. But, the sheer number of the factors alone can actually only partly illustrate the complexity of the change process, as these factors interact with each other producing an extremely complex web, difficult to understand and to generalise about.

B. *THE INADEQUACY OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE*

From the heyday of curriculum change in the fifties to the early seventies, studies of curriculum change were dominated by the technological perspective (House, 1979; Berman, 1981) which was associated with the 'Research, Development & Diffusion' strategy and the 'centre-periphery' approach (House, 1979). From this perspective, teaching is seen as technology and educational innovation as change in technology. Because the technological perspective assumes considerable social consensus, substantial value integration and a sharing of common ends among people, users and developers are seen as having similar values. These assumptions suggest that curriculum users are 'rationalists' who will accept and implement change without objection provided that they fully understand what the change is about.

Adopting the technological perspective on curriculum change has neither produced success in practice nor provided a satisfactory explanation of the outcome of change. In North America, though many curriculum innovations did not fail completely (Parker, 1976; Ornstein, 1981), 'the hopes for the innovations of the last three decades never came to full fruition' (Ornstein, 1981, p.48). Similarly, in Britain, the hard work and effort of innovators and developers in the fifties and the sixties failed to bring about desirable outcomes in schools and classrooms (Kelly, 1980). In developing countries, the results were also discouraging (Hurst, 1983). Most innovations had not generated results congruent with the objectives set (Havelock & Huberman, 1977).

What is wrong with the technological perspective? One of its weaknesses arises from its unrealistic assumptions (Ball, 1987). Based on the assumption of social consensus and common values between developers and teachers, it is thought that if the proposal for change is explained to the users fully, correctly and efficiently, teachers will put the change into practice. The key is therefore the development of high quality proposals for change and effective dissemination (and diffusion). Unfortunately, no matter how effective and efficient the dissemination, it alone does not necessarily lead to full-scale, successful implementation. Even if people know the details of the need for change, they will not necessarily put it into practice. In some cases, people may reject the change, after they get to know the nature and the amount of work involved. Some may modify the suggested change to the extent that the essence of the innovation is completely lost.

Some writers have, in fact, asserted that the orientations of teachers and curriculum planners are very often different. For example, Brown & McIntyre (1978) write,

'the value that teachers put on change proposals is likely to depend on the extent to which the goals of the proposals are congruent with those of their own teaching, and on the problems they can foresee arising from the various constraints under which they habitually work. The value that curriculum planners put on the same innovations may not reflect such personal and day-to-day issues, but rather be determined by the potential of the changes to satisfy the outcomes demanded by society or the patterns of teaching advocated by educational theorists.' (p.19-20).

They, like Reid (1978), point out that planners are most concerned with appeals to theory, statements of principles and general justifications but have neglected the practicalities of implementation. Ornstein (1981) also claimed that the reformers failed 'to consider that teachers perceived their problems differently and frequently did not see the reformers' answers as relevant, however elegantly packaged' (p.48). Teachers and developers need to improve their mutual understanding (Olson, 1981).

Studies adopting the technological perspective often centre on identifying the factors, and the statistical relationship between these factors and the outcomes of the change. A typical example is Corwin's (1975) study in which he finds,

'The statistically significant correlations indicate that the innovativeness of a school increases with the principal's and teachers' levels of education, teaching experience of the faculty, proportion of male teachers, proportion of teachers in the local AFTs and (with percent of males and percent in the AFT controlled) proportion in the NEA, the

degree of support for change from the local community (and with other factors controlled, from teachers' organisations), joint cooperative programs with the community, the number of federal programs in the school, and size of the community and of the school. Innovativeness declines with the level of standardization' (p.18).

This type of findings fails to establish the causal relationship and the intricacy of the change process. This is of little practical value to curriculum developers and users.

Another major weakness of this approach is that it ignores the impact of political influence, both macro and micro.

C. THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The failure of the technological perspective shows the need to adopt another perspective in studying curriculum change. The political perspective (conflict-dependency approach, Hurst, 1983) is one of the alternatives that has emerged (House, 1979). The key idea here is that the process of educational change is seen as involving conflicts and compromise between various factional groups, such as teachers, parents and the government. House (1979) draws in MacDonald & Walker's (1976) concept of negotiation and Berman et al.'s (1976) concept of mutual adaptation to point out that changes are negotiated and there is 'mutual adaptation' in the whole change process. However, there are great differences in viewpoints within the political perspective (House, 1979).

One of the divisions is the Marxist and neo-Marxist school (House, 1979) which adopts a macro-approach towards the studies of educational change. It stresses the importance of 'class conflict and ideology' and has been promulgated by people like Rice (1982) and Papagiannis et al. (1982). They both criticise the limitations of the 'conventional theory' and claim that only radical approaches can really explain the success and failure of education change. Salter & Tapper's work (1981) is a study adopting the neo-Marxist approach in analysing curriculum change.

The radical approach has been strongly criticised by theorists like Reid (1978) who points out that the difficulty with,

'...(the) conflict theory in its more extreme forms is that it allows little or no room for the exercise of judgment and responsibility in planning or policy making. Social change, and therefore, curriculum change, is depicted as something hinging on fundamental social conflicts over which we have only very marginal control, though we might be able to slow the process down and speed it up' (p.76).

Conflict theorists, although able to offer insight into curriculum change by providing broad socio-political theory of understanding, fail to provide practical advice to curriculum developers and users.

Another approach within the political perspective is the 'micro-political' theory which focuses on

political activities at the meso-level, i.e. the school organisation level. Hoyle (1982) put this 'on the agenda' while Ball (1987) put forward a more developed theory based mainly on his Beachside study. He argues that the political interactions among various groups in schools strongly influence the outcome of educational change. Implementation work in school is thus seen as important in the understanding of educational change.

Another challenge to the technological perspective is the cultural perspective. Sarason (1982), Goodlad (1975, 1984), Wolcott (1975) are key representatives of this school of thought. They adopt a cultural view in looking at, and explaining, educational change. Unlike the technological perspective, this perspective sees teaching as a craft. It is assumed that society is fragmented, with each group having a strong subculture. The subculture and the belief system of the groups involved, and the cultural context are emphasized in explaining educational changes. For example, Fullan (1982) who favours this perspective, asserts,

'an understanding of what reality is *from the point of view of people within the role* is an essential starting point for constructing a practical theory of the meaning and results of change attempts' (p.130).

Hewton (1982), though not fully supporting this school of thought admits,

'it opens some windows on the insiders' world and identifies certain patterns of thinking and acting which may have some explanatory power when the outsiders - assuming the role of diplomats - approach the culture with a view to negotiating change' (p.30).

The emphasis on the differences between various groups involved means that implementation is looked upon as a key in understanding curriculum change. Researchers adopting both the political (with the exception of the Marxists) and the cultural perspective have placed more emphasis on studying the implementation process. By the mid-eighties, as House (1979) earlier predicted, research on educational change adopting the cultural perspective has multiplied. The political perspective is also becoming more popular. The shift away from the technological perspective has been so marked that Berman (1981) claims that there has been a paradigm shift from a technological paradigm to one of implementation. He points out,

'Research has changed emphasis from analysis of replicable products to studies of process; from fixed and constant treatments to broad evaluations; from the primacy of adoption to consideration of the whole change process; from a quest for superior technologies to an exploration of organisational and contextual explanation of change; from the formulation of general rationalistic models of school district behaviour to empirical, albeit often particularistic findings' (p.260).

It is perhaps difficult to assert that a paradigmatic shift is evident, nonetheless attention in research on curriculum change has come strongly to recognise the importance of context, culture and process. Implementation is seen as a key to the understanding of change. The group of curriculum theorists, evaluators and researchers in Britain with Stenhouse (1975) as the leading figure have also strongly criticised the stress on the product curriculum design that is a feature of the technological perspective. Knowing input-output is not enough. Understanding of the process that led to the outcomes is essential. In the past, implementation has been badly neglected (Fullan &

Park, 1981). By looking into the implementation process, theorists and developers will be able to better understand curriculum change (Elmore, 1978; Fullan, 1982). Besides providing the possibility of explaining why innovation fails or succeeds (Mann, 1976 (quoted in Hurst, 1983); Patterson & Czajkowski, 1979), implementation studies can also portray the effects of the innovation more fully (Wang et al., 1984).

III. THE IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL IN CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION

A. *SCHOOL AS THE UNIT OF CHANGE*

To fully understand the implementation process, it is necessary to see how the curriculum is initiated, adopted, developed (and/or adapted) and stabilized in school because,

‘Regardless of where innovations and change efforts are initiated, implementation takes place inside the educational organisation.’ (Zaltman et al., 1977, p.15)

Fullan et al. (1986) have also made a similar assertion,

‘... however the process is initiated, the school is the unit that must work its way through the implementation if it is to succeed’ (p.325).

School is an organisation made up of school administrators (usually the principals), teachers, ancillary staff and pupils. As teaching is designed and carried out by principals and teachers, comparatively speaking, the influence of pupils and other groups is not as marked as that of the principals and teachers. ‘Implementation depends solely on what people (teachers, principals, school board administrators etc.) do and don’t do’ (Fullan & Park, 1981, p.5). Similarly, Crandall (1983) asserts that teachers and principals are the ‘vital link of change’. Other researchers like MacDonald & Rudduck (1971), Argyle (1967), Dickinson (1975), Havelock & Huberman (1977), Young (1979), Southworth (1983), Unruh (1983), Marsh (1984) and Brady (1985) have, in various ways, pointed out the importance of teachers and principals in curriculum change. It is not surprising to read in Crandall (1983) that people have been found in a diverse body of research to be of critical importance to change. Their attitudes, work and response can, and will, strongly shape, if not determine, the results of curriculum change.

The following two sections discuss in detail, the ways in which principals and teachers affect the implementation work in school.

B. *THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL*

The principal is influential in the implementation process (Havelock & Huberman, 1977; McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978; Finch, 1981; Southworth, 1983; Huberman, 1983; Brady, 1985; Fullan, 1985; Manasse, 1985; Hall & Hord, 1987). This is due to the fact that in most systems, the principal is usually invested with considerable power. For example, in Britain, the head is,

‘not merely an executive of some intermediate authority but the commanding officer in

the field who interprets, improvises and holds things together and makes them hum' (Holt, 1980, p.80).

The principal, if interested and committed to a change, can serve many roles including that of 'change agent', 'pressure regulator', 'morale booster', 'resource supplier' and 'climate generator'.

If one looks at the school as a system, the principal occupies a 'boundary' position between the school and the outside world (Dickinson, 1975 ; Young, 1979). Sarason (1982), for example, finds that in North America, the principalship,

'More than any other single position... represents the pivotal exchange point, the most important point of connection between teachers, students, and parents on the one hand and the educational policy-making structure—superintendent, school board and taxpayer—on the other' (p.180).

Because of his/her strategic position, messages and ideas of changes are usually channeled into the school system through the principal (Dickinson, 1975). Consequently, the principal who is interested in a change is in a very favourable position to bring the new ideas and suggestions into the school for his/her colleagues.

The principal's strategic position also means that s/he will interpret, mediate and transfer pressure for (or against) change, from society, the board of governors and so on to the teachers (Woods, 1979). A principal who does not like a change may divert or insulate the teachers from the pressure exerted by the outside system, thus rendering the change less likely to succeed. On the other hand, a principal can pass the pressure onto his or her staff, thus putting pressure on them to carry out the change.

Besides playing the role of change agent and pressure regulator, the principal's style of leadership has an impact on teachers' involvement, interest and enthusiasm (McGeown, 1980). Good leadership will generate better staff morale (Henderson & Perry, 1981). In cases where the principal is more open and accessible, curriculum development will be facilitated (Southworth, 1983). Teachers may be motivated to devote their time and energy to change. Marsh (1984) notes that this will generate a multiplying effect influencing a large number of teachers in the school. The principal can also build up a climate in which people can communicate (Doll, 1982). This facilitates the change process.

Educational change, in both curriculum and organisational terms, usually requires more and higher quality resources including physical facilities, financial support, staffing and time (Finch, 1981), to achieve real change. Although the availability of resources depends upon many factors, the policy of the government, for example, with regard to resource allocation within schools is usually in the hands of the principal as s/he is the 'chief executive'. Very often, there is room for the principal to manoeuvre. Principals can provide resources in many ways, for example, 'granting financial assistance, allocating a room in the school for the project....' (Marsh & Stafford, 1984,

p.137). Of course, because of the differences in history and beliefs, the power vested in principals varies in different places. For example, the principals in the British system enjoy more autonomy than their counterparts in the United States (Weindling & Earley, 1986).

Leithwood et al. (1979) has also emphasized the importance of the control of rewards to teachers by principals. Types of rewards are multifarious including promotion, recognition of status, provision of resources etc.

Although research findings have shown the important role of the principal in the process of change (Hall & Hord, 1987), not all principals are effective in implementing changes. There are many reasons for this. Lack of ability, role perception and lack of training are three of the key factors.

The principal's commitment to a curriculum change is essential. Unfortunately, the demands of work on the principal are very often not conducive to the principal having a commitment to change. The daily administrative tasks very often totally occupy the principal's time already (Hall & Hord, 1987). Fullan substantiates this,

'Research consistently found that a large percentage of principals (at least one-half) were preoccupied with administrative work and organisational maintenance activities' (1984, p.100).

Principals who are preoccupied with the day-to-day running of school, may not have the interest, time, or energy to look into and promote curriculum change. Furthermore, as Ross points out, '...few educational roles are less clearly defined than that of the principal. He is continually barraged by a series of uncoordinated and often contradictory sets of expectations from different groups from within and outside his own school community' (1980, p.219).

Because of the divergent demands on them, principals may not devote their attention and efforts to curriculum change.

A range of research has shown that principals who act as instructional leaders and are directly involved themselves in instructional policy work with staff are more effective (Persell & Cookson, 1982). They can

'influence the extent of implementation much more than those principals who carry out a largely administrative role, leaving implementation to the individual teacher or department' (Fullan & Park, 1981, p.20).

Recent research also points in the same direction (Hall & Hord, 1987). By involving themselves directly in a change, administrators will clearly show that they really take the change seriously. As a result, this may boost the involvement and enthusiasm of the teachers. It also enhances the principal's understanding of the change which is very important to the implementation (MacDonald & Rudduck 1971). Having better knowledge of the change, the head can react promptly and effectively. But as Hall & Hord (1987), with reference to Wolcott (1973), Sproull (1977, 1981) &

Martin (1980), state, 'instructional leadership is not a central focus of the real-life practices of principals' (p. 44).

In addition to commitment, skills and abilities are also important. Argyle (1967), for instance, suggests that two types of abilities on the part of the principal are essential for effective implementation. First, the principal has to have the ability to persuade individuals and committees. Secondly, having political or organisational skills e.g. skills in bargaining, establishing committees and lines of communication, are important. Unruh (1983) has made similar assertions about the abilities that the principal requires in implementing changes. He states,

'The effective principal needs these among other necessary competencies: skill in instructional leadership to the extent that everyone in the building is committed to instruction and learning as the main emphasis; ability to maintain an orderly, purposeful climate in which cooperation for the good of all is a priority; and success in setting and meeting high levels of expectation for students, teachers, supervisors and the principalship' (p.109).

It is not clear how many principals possess these qualities and the commitment described above. What makes matters worse is that principals very often lack training in relation to curriculum change. In Britain, Holt (1980) says,

'The main emphasis in preparing heads for the job has been placed, up to now, on administrative and procedural tasks: what might be termed in-tray know-how' (p 99).

Similarly, in North America,

'Principals normally do not receive pre- or in-service training for their roles as curriculum change leaders' (Fullan & Park, 1981, p.29).

Without proper training, the commitment and skills of principals in carrying out changes will be hampered. It has been postulated by McLaughlin & Marsh (1978) that high quality training is likely to help principals to develop the commitment and skills necessary to curriculum implementation. They comment,

'The Rand study suggests that staff development for principals is critical. It is needed to strengthen their ability to carry out the many facets in the innovation process in the context of building an ongoing problem-solving capacity at the school' (p.93).

C. THE ROLE OF THE TEACHERS

The claim by Hall & Hord (1987) that 'there is a general consensus in the literature that the principal is the key to educational change in school' (p.42) has substance, but is, to a large extent, applicable to change at the school level. The principal, being the head of the school, normally has the final say in decisions over the adoption, implementation and institutionalisation of curriculum change at the school level (Fullan, 1982).

But when it comes to the classroom level, the principal's influence, comparatively speaking, is outweighed by that of the teacher (Marsh & Stafford, 1984). Regardless of the power structure and organisational structure of the education system and school system, the central agency and the

school administrators do not have enough administrative mechanisms to control what happens in every classroom (Doyle & Ponder, 1977; Ross, 1980).

Most of the pedagogical activities, both in and out of the classroom, are designed, decided and carried out entirely by teachers (Hoyle, 1975). 'Forced or pressured change often does not last' (Zaltman, et al., 1977, p.15). The commitment of teachers is essential to successful implementation (Loucks, 1983). Doll (1982) sums it up nicely,

'There is little need to re-emphasize the fact that classroom teachers and their aides largely determine the curriculum. Regardless of grandiose curriculum plans, when the classroom door is closed, the insight and skill of teachers determine in large measure the quality of learners' school experience' (p.328).

Because of the important role of the teacher in carrying out the actual work of implementing the curriculum, it is not surprising to find that many of the curriculum change theorists already referred to, such as Taylor (1970), Regan & Leithwood (1974), Corwin (1975), Fullan & Park (1981), Fullan (1982), Olson (1977), Havelock & Huberman (1977), Brown & McIntyre (1982), Loucks-Horsley & Crandall (1986), have repeatedly asserted the key role of teachers in implementing change.

It must be pointed out that the impact of teachers on the implementation process varies with the educational system, teachers' professionalism, the status and activities of teachers' unions and the teachers' perception of their role in the implementation process. For example, Jennings-Wray (1980), after studying the teachers' role in educational change in the West Indies, notes,

'the British teacher,..., more so than the American teacher, asserts his independence of institutional influence, whereas the West Indies primary school teacher, like the Ghanaian, accepts the importance of institutional authority. For the most part he sees himself as an implementer of curriculum decisions made by a central bureaucracy, rather than as a curriculum decision-maker since he has to contest the power to do this with other strong influences' (p.238).

The level of influence teachers have also varies with the type of change. Curriculum changes can be divided into two broad types, organisational and pedagogical (Brown & McIntyre, 1982). For the organisational type of change, implementation does not depend so much on the teacher, especially in a centralised system. Teachers are obliged to carry out the decision to change because of pressure from the school authority, local authority or national system and their departmental colleagues. But in the case of pedagogical change, the choice of whether to implement or not rests primarily with the individual teacher as pedagogical change is mainly to do with patterns of teaching.

V. THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL

'Attempting to bring about change is, in essence, an attempt to influence individuals or groups to decide to do something differently. An understanding of the basis on which decisions are made provides information which is invaluable in attempting to introduce change in a way that closely matches the specific context, circumstances, or environment of the innovation user and acknowledges their central, active decision-making role' (Leithwood et al., 1979, p.70-71).

A. *THE PRINCIPAL*

There is not much research evidence on how principals react to change. Argyle (1967) postulates that there are three basic kinds of motivation that will encourage an administrator to bring about change:

1. Concern about the efficiency of the organisation;
2. A desire to bring about changes that will strengthen his/her position;
3. A desire to present an appearance of keenness and efficiency to impress his/her superiors and secure his/her eventual promotion.

On the other hand, Boyd (1978) indicates that conflict avoidance is a major orientation of school boards and administrators (cited in Fullan, 1982). A factor which a principal is likely to take into consideration in any decisions about sensitive curriculum changes is the parents' likely reaction as: 'parents can make or break school innovations, and unfortunately, they are most often cast in the role of spoilers, since it is easier to organise parents for resistance than assistance' (Bridge, 1978, p.119).

Similarly, Leithwood et al. (1979), when reviewing other research, write,

'The stance taken by administrators is a reflection of the reward structure within which administrators work, a structure which, according to Pincus (1974) favours bureaucratic safety, responsiveness to pressure external to the school system, and approval of peer elites. Bureaucratic safety is likely to encourage innovations that do not substantially alter the system's resource mix or alter accustomed authority roles (Pincus, 1974) on the one hand, and addresses the central goals of the education system (Berman & McLaughlin, 1976) on the other hand' (p.55).

The principal, when thinking what to do with a proposal for change, will also take into consideration the level of support that is available (Fullan & Park, 1981). If the school system supports the principal in implementing curriculum changes, the principal will feel more secure in attempting a change and the chance of successful implementation will be higher.

Manasse (1985), after reviewing the literature on principals' effectiveness, makes some good proposals for improvement,

'In general, the policy implications of the research involve recognizing the importance of principals in implementing any kind of school improvement; redesigning training programs to prepare principals for the fragmented, varied and ambiguous nature of their work lives; teaching them the necessary analytic, organizational, communication, and pedagogical skills to function effectively as instructional leaders; ... developing district incentive and reward systems that are congruent with district-articulated goals and that provide principals with the resources and support they need to be effective educational leaders' (p.460).

B. *THE TEACHERS*

1. RATIONAL ADOPTER, STONE-AGE OBSTRUCTIONIST OR PRAGMATIC SKEPTIC?

Like the case of the principal, 'our understanding of the crucial factors that influence teachers' views of the suggestions for change is at a very primitive level.' (Brown & McIntyre, 1982, p.35).

Fullan (1982) has also noted our limited knowledge in this area.

In the sixties and seventies, many innovations, being influenced by the technological perspective, viewed teachers as 'rational adopters', a term used by Sieber (1972), cited by Doyle & Ponder, who 'systematically follow a set of problem-solving steps which include such activities as problem identification, data search, deliberation, implementation, and evaluation. Change strategies designed around this image tend to stress the central importance of information in stimulating and effecting educational change' (1977, p.4).

It was assumed that if teachers were made more knowledgeable, they would adopt and carry out the recommended changes. The experience of failures in implementing curriculum changes in the past decades have vividly illustrated the fallibility of the 'rational adopter' stance. This 'reason strategy is rarely successful' in implementing curriculum changes at the classroom level (Patterson & Czajkowski, 1979, p.205).

Why do so many teachers reject proposals for change? Is there something wrong with the teachers? Are they irrational? Are they stubborn conservatives? Some people go to the other extreme and describe teachers as 'stone-age obstructionists' (Doyle & Ponder, 1977). This is not, however, a tenable view when one takes into consideration the amount of successful adaptation of curriculum change and school-based curriculum development that have taken place.

If teachers are not stone-age obstructionists, then are they conservative by nature? There are different views on this. For example, Loucks & Pratt (1979) postulate that 'human nature is such that changing anything is usually more difficult than maintaining the status quo' (p.34). House (1981) holds a similar view. He says,

'The culture of the school itself is a very traditional one, at least compared to other sectors of society, such as industry. It is not surprising that schools would resist modernisation pressures, particularly when these are originated from without. Nor is it surprising that the school, being traditional, will be slow to change without pressures' (p.37).

By contrast, Ejiogu (1980) argues,

'Resistance to change implies much more than a simple inertia in human nature. In general, people are always eager for some kind of change in their life patterns and situations' (p.64).

There is conflicting evidence with reference to the validity of these two extreme views (McGeown, 1980). Doyle & Ponder (1977) suggest that teachers are 'pragmatic skeptics' with 'practical ethics'. They find that teachers will implement changes which are practical. In the eyes of teachers, the practicality of a change depends on the instrumentality of the change, the congruence between the change and their needs, and the relative costs and benefits of implementing the change. This view is similar to assertion by Fullan (1982) that when teachers encounter a call for change, they will consider the following questions before deciding whether to implement the proposed change:

1. Does the change potentially address a need and will it help them to solve some of the teaching and learning problems? (congruence)

2. How clear is the change in terms of what the teachers will have to do? (instrumentality)
3. How will it affect the teacher personally in terms of time, energy, new skills, sense of excitement and competence, and interference with existing priorities? (costs)

Shavelson & Stern (1981) also assert that teachers behave reasonably. They write,

'... the capacity of the human mind for formulating and solving complex problems such as those presented in teaching is very small compared to the enormity of some "ideal" model of rationality (i.e. some normative model). In order to handle this complexity, a person constructs a simplified model of the real situation. The teachers then behave rationally with respect to the simplified model of reality constructed. This conception of teachers with "bounded rationality", that is rational within the constraints of their information processing capabilities, leads to a modification of the first assumption. Teachers behave reasonably in making judgements and decisions in an uncertain, complex environment' (p.456-7).

2. CLARITY

Changes with clear goals and conceptual clarity are more likely to succeed (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978). An ambiguously defined change may facilitate adoption because the ambiguity may blur the diversity and conflict of values between the users and the developers, and among the users at the point of adoption. It will, however, invite problems during implementation (Havelock & Huberman, 1977; Fullan, 1982) when the conflict will definitely surface. The differences in interpretation of the ambiguous change will also generate problems. What is the level of clarity required? Doyle & Ponder (1977) suggest that to the teachers,

'a change proposal must describe a procedure in terms which depict classroom contingencies. Statements of principle or specifications of desired outcomes are not practical simply because they lack the necessary procedural referents' (p.7).

The clarity of the change, as understood by teachers, depends on two factors: the clarity of the change as stated by the developers and also the communication between the developers and users. If the change is ambiguously stated, the implementation may be adversely affected as the users may not understand the new expectations (Gross et al., 1971), 'ignore some aspects of innovation... and react with disfavour' (Brown, 1980, p.35).

Even if the change has been clearly specified by the developers, change is very often, 'not transparent to all' (Olson, 1980). It is, therefore, necessary to improve communication between the planners and users. The messages explaining why the change is demanded, what the change is all about and how the change should be (or can be) carried out, must be conveyed to the users (Havelock & Huberman, 1977). If the messages passed to the users are distorted or misinterpreted, this may lead to the rejection or ignoring of some aspects of the innovation (Brown, 1980). Consequently, the change suggested will never be fully implemented and the results of the change will be adversely affected.

This is of particular importance in changes developed under the R D & D model or the centre-periphery system where the change is planned by the central agency or a specialised team and then

passed to school personnel (principals and teachers) to use. After all,

'Because implementation is a socialization and clarification process it follows that interaction and technical assistance are essential. Regular opportunities for professional interaction, mutual help and external assistance are required' (Fullan & Park, 1981, p.25).

Good communication is a two-way process. Teachers, besides being able to receive information and ideas, can also provide feedback to the developers. This helps the developers to understand the genuine needs of teachers and react promptly (Havelock & Huberman, 1977). The process of implementation will, therefore, be smoother.

3. NEEDS

Changes which meet the needs of school staff are likely to be welcomed and tried out. But what are the needs of teachers? It is very difficult to generalize as people's needs vary (Sieber, 1976-7; Hall & Loucks, 1978). For example, some may seek professional status while others may look for a higher income or job satisfaction. Teachers face many different challenges and have to undertake many roles (Regan & Leithwood, 1974; Bennett, 1974; Olson, 1980). They have to face conflict of goals between the teachers and the school, conflicts between departments, conflict of views between principals and teachers etc. A good example of the conflicts is that between achieving certain educational ideals and helping pupils through examinations. Theoretically speaking, these two demands should not be in conflict. In reality, unfortunately, such conflict is not uncommon. Teachers, given the pressure of examinations, may have to reject or modify a change. Pudwell (1980) points out that the curriculum is restricted by examinations. In places where public examinations serve the purposes of selection, the impact is even greater (Lewin, 1984). Faced with contrasting demands, teachers have to continue to function. They need to cope with uncertainties. Most teachers construe their practice in ways which 'minimize the consequences of role diffuseness' (Olson, 1977, p.9).

In general, however, school personnel prefer curriculum changes which provide a clear and direct solution to an educational problem (Imber, 1982). They will reject projects which do not meet their daily need. A basic need of the teacher is to survive, which involves maintaining a certain level of discipline (Woods, 1979), measured, to a large extent, by the level of noise in the classroom (Denscombe, 1980).

4. COSTS AND REWARDS

If the rewards of implementing a change outweigh the costs, teachers will try to carry it out (Doyle & Ponder, 1977; Brown, 1980; Fullan, 1982). The costs and rewards of implementing a change are multifarious. Brown (1980) has given a long list of examples:

'Costs

1. Time demanded
2. Need to learn new skills, acquire new knowledge
3. Prepare new materials

4. Adopt unfamiliar patterns of teaching
5. Reorganisation of administrative structures
6. Threat to autonomy
7. Subject expertise undermined
8. Unwanted collaboration with other teachers
9. Change in power structure among teachers, teacher/pupils

Rewards

1. More stimulating/interesting teaching
 2. Improved discipline among pupils
 3. More time allocated for planning lessons
 4. More resources made available
 5. More status/recognition for 'innovative' teachers
 6. More active part in decision-making
 7. More money
 8. Promotion'
- (p.33)

The costs and benefits can be classified into three types: utility, status and effect (Adams & Chen, 1981). It is almost impossible to generalise about the types of costs and rewards which will be most important to all teachers because each individual teacher will have his/her own values. Research findings point in different directions. For example, Huberman (1988) cites Huberman & Miles's (1984) findings that career-related motives are an important determinant for adopting innovations. However, there is evidence to support the view that intrinsic professional rewards are far more important in motivating teachers (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). To teachers, work satisfaction comes mainly from improving pupils' performances and the relationship between teachers and pupils (Leithwood et al. 1979). It has also been found that changes which erode the self-esteem of teachers are not welcomed. Neither are those which generate a sense of insecurity (Zaltman, et al., 1977).

The theory proposed by Doyle & Ponder (1977) provides a useful framework for understanding the response of curriculum users. Following this line of thought, two further questions can be posed. First, Doyle & Ponder (1977) limit their focus to what shapes the adoption decision of teachers. The outcome of the implementation is, however, not just determined by the adoption decision, but also by the work of teachers after the decision has been made. Teachers may totally reject and abandon a change after trying it out. On the other hand, adaptation of a curriculum is a common phenomenon (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978) and Aoki (1984) postulates that the curriculum to be changed should be seen as 'an object to be interpreted and critically reflected upon in an on-going transformation of curriculum and self' (p.116). To fully understand the outcomes, it is necessary to follow the course of development and the teachers' curricular decisions beyond adoption. It will be useful to see whether the considerations which are claimed to be influential in adoption decisions are also applicable to teachers' curricular decisions subsequent to adoption.

Secondly, there is still a gap in knowledge of what determines teachers' needs, costs and rewards. Just knowing that teachers will take their needs into consideration and knowing what the costs and

rewards to them in implementing a change is a good step forward, but it does not take us far enough in understanding the change process. We also need to know what determines teachers' perceptions of their needs, costs and rewards. As has been described above, there have been various different assertions about this. But they are piecemeal and very often point in different directions. Of course, as human beings, teachers have different values and experiences, which lead to different perceptions. It is extremely difficult to generalise about the factors which shape teachers' judgements on curricular decisions. However, is it really possible to make some broad generalisations about the underlying factors influencing teachers' perception of the needs, costs and rewards? Recent researches have shown that some generalisations can be made. For example, examinations have been found to be a powerful force influencing teachers' decisions (Lewin, 1984).

Another major underlying factor may be the school culture (teachers' occupational culture being part of it (Holly, 1986)). Schools have a distinct culture and ignoring or failing to understand it will adversely affect the chances of implementing successful change (Goodlad, 1975). School culture is said to include three interrelated components, namely:

1. the deep structure of schooling including deep-seated values and the ethos of the school,
2. the teachers' occupational culture,
3. 'the socio-psychological implicit agreements struck by teachers within the organisation' (Holly, 1986, p.355).

Among these, the teachers' occupational culture is said to be very important in affecting curriculum change. For example, Lieberman & Miller (1984) say,

'teachers are at the core of any improvement effort. We must pay particular attention to their needs, their longings, their personal and professional concerns and the ways in which they function as a separate culture in the high school' (p.53).

This idea of the influence of school culture and teacher occupational culture is still being developed. Woods (1979), for instance, argues that teachers, because of the pressure on them, are forced to think of survival first and education second. This 'survival first' stance is part of the teacher culture. Another characteristic of teacher culture is that when making curriculum decisions, teachers are different from the theoreticians who have the time and leisure to go through the process of gathering information, analysing, testing and refining their ideas. Teachers' practical knowledge is the background against which the results of inquiry are interpreted, adapted and chosen for use (Connelly & Ben-Peretz, 1980). Their decision-making processes are very often practical, and 'more likely to involve rapid iteration, a constant interaction between theory and evaluation, than to be based on carefully structured development and criticism of ideas' (Reid, 1978, p.24).

They generally rely on their perception, experiences, values and beliefs in judging the utility and suitability of the proposed changes. Recent studies concerned with teachers' thinking agree that the behaviour and thinking of teachers are steered by a set of beliefs which are often unconscious (Clark & Yinger, 1977). 'These beliefs, unconscious as some of them may be, help to form the behavioural

world of the classroom' (Yonemura, 1982, p.239). Teachers, in deciding what to teach, are 'frequently governed by personal interest' (Wilcox-Gillies, 1982). These may make teachers' decisions and judgements look idiosyncratic to outsiders, but they are very rational in teachers' own eyes.

These cultural traits among teachers suggest lines for further study of their decision-making processes which could be a key to the understanding of the implementation process.

Ball's micro-political theory of organisation (1987) also offers new insights into the influence of the interests held by various groups and the political interaction among the people involved. Are the decisions by teachers and principals affected by these political activities? If so, in what way?

V. SUPPORT FOR TEACHERS

Teachers need considerable assistance before they can accomplish a change (Regan & Leithwood, 1974; Doll, 1982; Southworth, 1983; Havelock & Huberman, 1977; Woods, 1979; Loucks & Zacchei, 1983; Clark et al., 1984; Fullan, 1986). With very little or no in-house support, teachers require an extended period to solve the problems of implementing change successfully, and 'a great deal of time can be lost through inefficiencies' (Hall & Loucks, 1978, p.46). In some cases, innovations may be adopted without real changes (e.g. SCISP, Olson, 1981).

Enthusiasm cannot be a substitute for inadequacy of resource support (MacDonald & Rudduck, 1971). Resources are of various types including teaching materials, equipment, funds and time (Havelock & Huberman, 1977). In this section, we shall consider the key resources required by teachers. Although producing curriculum materials alone has been found to be insufficient to induce successful implementation (Olson, 1977), the availability of materials and resources is a necessary condition (Gross et al. 1971). Developing high quality teaching materials requires much time and expertise. High quality teaching materials with built-in flexibility for the users will demonstrate to teachers the essence of the changes. Moreover, teachers may find it easier to imitate or modify materials readily available than to develop something from scratch (Evans, 1984).

Considerable investment of facilities and materials on the part of the central agency and administrators, besides being a gesture of strong support (Clark et al., 1984), also helps teachers in the implementation process. For example, in carrying out activity-based teaching, teachers desperately need more space and easily movable furniture.

Another essential support needed is encouragement and support from the school and district (Rogan & MacDonald, 1985). Spiritual support from the top can mean a lot to teachers who are experiencing difficulties in implementing a change. Furthermore, the school authority should try to construct a consensus view in the school because resolving conflicts will drain resources (Timar & Kirp, 1988).

Availability of time is another key resource required (Loucks & Lieberman, 1983). Teachers need time to master a new practice (Clark et al., 1984). Loucks & Lieberman (1983) who support this stance, elaborate,

‘Time is a commodity as important to successful change as material and moral support... Time is needed for teachers to plan, adapt materials, train, solve problems and provide peer support’ (p.133).

As teachers have to cope,

‘with the everyday demands of classroom and school life, discipline, extra-curricular duties, meetings, marking tests, planning the next day’s or next week’s lesson’ (Fullan & Park, 1981, p.26).

They, especially dedicated teachers, may be forced to discard or modify the change to the extent that its essence is lost. Bates et al. (1974) claim that,

‘Any innovations or changes therefore must be replacements of activities already carried out, rather than additional duties to be imposed on teachers’ (p.80).

Curriculum change not only involve the use of new or revised materials, it also involves skills and behaviour, beliefs and understanding (Fullan, 1986). Teachers need to acquire new ideas to brush up their competencies and to develop positive attitudes to change. Unfortunately, teachers, because of their position and the nature of their work, may be restricted in their perspectives and their ability to absorb new ideas and skills. ‘Teachers occupy that lower position (in school) and their sources of information are limited’ (Young, 1979, p.120). ‘The isolation of teachers in the classroom also results, according to House (1974), in a very restricted informational field’ (Young, 1985, p.407-8). Fullan (1982) has identified similar problems. He says,

‘Teachers are much less likely to come into contact with new ideas, for they are restricted to their classroom and have a limited network of professionally based interaction within their schools or with their professional peers outside’ (p.44).

Professional interaction with colleagues in school is generally low (Young, 1979; Vars, 1979). With limited channels linking them with the world outside the classroom, teachers are bound to face problems when they implement new curriculum changes which usually involve new content and require new skills.

For the above reasons, staff development is very important for successful implementation (Olson, 1977; McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978; Jennings-Wray, 1980; Patterson & Czajkowski, 1979; Kanu, 1986). Southworth (1983) even says, ‘teacher development and curriculum development are ... two sides of the same coin’ (p.21). It is risky to assume that teachers have the required skills (Brown, 1980).

Effective staff development conducive to successful implementation requires a very comprehensive programme and careful planning. A single early training session is inadequate for effective staff development (Regan & Leithwood, 1974; Fullan et al., 1986). Frey (1979) makes a similar assertion. He explains, ‘Initial training cannot anticipate all the questions and problems that come with classroom operation. That’s why training must continue after the program is in use’ (p.209).

It should be treated, as Clark et al. (1984) say, as, '...a process not as an event. It needs to begin at the pre-implementation stage, be tooled to fit the innovation and continue on through institutionalization' (p.57).

Staff development programmes should include,

'the familiarization with teaching materials, the analysis of pupil needs, the examination of course aims and the embodiment of these in course content translated into suitable materials' (Whitehouse, 1982, p.123).

Besides developing new skills and new concepts and behaviour among teachers, staff development has to take into consideration the building up of confidence and the elimination of threats to teachers (Goodlad, 1975). To achieve this, Clark et al. (1984) point out that developing a supportive organisational climate is an important part of staff development. Similarly, Lieberman & Miller (1990) argue that developing a culture of support for teacher development is essential.

The sharing of experiences among teachers from different schools helps in achieving real change (Zaltman et al., 1977; Leithwood et al., 1979; Fullan et al., 1986; Lieberman & Miller, 1990). Fellow teachers are a preferred and effective source of development (Fullan & Park, 1981) as they are 'credible people' (Loucks, 1983). Showers's idea of 'teacher coaching teacher' (1985) has been seen to be a useful and practical means of helping staff.

If the relevance of a staff development programme is to be enhanced, it needs to be closely monitored. McLaughlin & Marsh (1978) elaborate this,

'Training is essentially an information transfer — providing teachers with necessary techniques. But ..., the process of implementation is a process of mutual adaptation in which teachers modify their practices to conform to project requirements and project technologies are adapted to the day-to-day realities of the school and classroom. Staff support activities, in particular classroom assistance from resource personnel and project meetings, can provide the feedback project staff need to make these modifications. Through these support activities, skill-specific training can be individualised for project teachers in terms of timing and content modifications' (p.77).

Treating teachers as inept recipients of ideas is a mistake made by many curriculum developers. Instead, 'teachers should be partners in the curriculum, not its servants' (Humble & Simons, 1978, p.177).

By involving teachers in the whole development process, the changes will be facilitated (see for example, Argyle 1967; Hoyle, 1975; Havelock & Huberman, 1977; Patterson & Czajkowski, 1979; Ornstein, 1981; Fullan & Park, 1981). However, broad-based participation by teachers beyond the school level may not be practicable for three reasons. First, it is a very large step for teachers to expand their role beyond their classrooms to the school district level (Young, 1979). Secondly, it is not feasible to include all teachers in the curriculum development committees. For those teachers who are not involved in the planning stage, the curriculum designed, whether it is the work of other teachers or of theoreticians, is still something new. Thirdly, teachers seem to be more interested in

classroom activities than school-wide matters (Lortie, 1975). Olson (1977) sums up the research findings,

‘we know that teachers tend to reject responsibility for curriculum decision-making (Simpkins & Friesen, 1969; Olson & Kitto, 1977). We also know that teachers have difficulty in seeing their work in terms of extending beyond their local situation (Taylor, 1970; Walker, 1971; Hayes, 1974; Oberg 1975)’ (p.64).

Similarly, Young (1979) says,

‘Recent studies clearly indicate that increased participation in curriculum decision making holds little or no attention for classroom teachers’ (p.113).

However, as teachers have first hand knowledge of the pupils and the school (Carson, 1984), they can contribute a lot in the planning of the implementation at the school level if they are invited to participate. Involvement at an early stage can enhance teachers’ sense of ownership and hence commitment and enthusiasm. There is a ‘very close relationship between participation and effective communication; the two are almost inseparable’ (Havelock & Huberman, 1977, p.213). Effective communication will bring about greater understanding of the proposals for change on the part of the teachers (McLaughlin & Marsh, 1978). Clark et al. (1984), basing their claims on more recent studies of school improvement, further elaborate on why teachers should be involved in decision making at the implementation stage,

‘Teachers want and need to participate in planning for and decision making about implementation, not adoption. Teachers’ concerns focus at the point of effective action—the classrooms. Required changes in teaching behaviour, the effectiveness of the innovation in attaining positive student outcomes and personal and professional incentives for change capture the attention of teachers during the implementation stage. This is the point in the process when active teacher participation in planning and decision-making is always useful and often imperative’ (p.51).

After this survey of the various types of support teachers need, it must be pointed out that the amount of support needed varies with the scale and nature of the change (Loucks & Zacchei, 1983). Radical changes usually exert greater demands on the curriculum users. Teachers may have to change their teaching habits which are said to be ‘comfortable, predictable and anxiety-free’ (MacDonald & Rudduck, 1971). The threats and insecurity which usually accompany change (Goodlad, 1975) will be intensified. Furthermore, teachers need to acquire more new skills and professional knowledge. Consequently, more long-term and intensive support of various kinds is required to help the users to acquire the necessary skills, concepts and resources. For example, Showers (1985) writes,

‘transfer of skills and strategies foreign to the teacher’s repertoire requires more substantial training than the training we typically alert to such enterprise’ (p.44).

The availability of support for teachers and schools depends heavily on the context of change and the determination of the central agency. As Clark et al. (1984) point out, all support requires the expenditure of funds. Without sound financial back-up, both the quality and quantity of support will be adversely affected.

VI. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MORAL EDUCATION

The implementation of moral education is a badly neglected area in the literature. A survey through the ERIC, the BTE, the Australian Educational Index and the moral education bibliography compiled by Cochrane et al. (1984), Cochrane (1985, 1988), Cochrane & Wilson (1986), Cochrane & Belcher (1987) shows that academic work on the implementation of moral education and related areas, such as civic education, political education, sex education and controversial issues, is very limited. Moral education curriculum developers have not paid enough attention to the implementation of moral education. For example, in a regional conference on moral education for Asian countries organised in Bangkok in 1978, it was recommended that each country should set up a 'national task force' to promote and develop moral education (UNESCO, 1979). 'Implementation of moral education programmes' was not included as one of the functions of this national task force although the recommended functions are numerous, including 'preparation of reports and proceedings on moral education and translating them into English language for regional and international exchange'. Because of this neglect, by both academics and curriculum developers, our knowledge and understanding of this important area is very limited. In this section, an attempt is made to draw together the piecemeal and scattered materials to construct an picture of this area, brief and incomplete though it may be.

'Moral education is as old as human society and its problematic nature is equally ancient' (Iheoma, 1985, p.183). In most other subjects, e.g. physics, chemistry, geography, economics, although different views do exist, it is not too difficult to identify a certain degree of consensus on issues like what the aims of teaching the subjects should be, what content should be taught, and what teaching methods suit the needs of the pupils best. In moral education, despite the work starting with Aristotle, Plato, Confucius and continuing in the present day with the work of Wilson, Hare, Piaget, Kohlberg and Peters, the area is still full of different, and, in some cases divergent ideas. There is no consensus (Pring, 1982; Straughan, 1984; Wilson, 1985; Wright, 1986). Academics, and educators continue to argue about questions like,

1. Should schools be responsible for moral education? (See for example, O'Hear, 1981; Kleinig, 1982a)
2. Should moral education take an explicit or implicit form? (See for example, Gordon, 1980; Cox, 1988)
3. Should moral education be organised as a separate curriculum subject or be integrated with other subjects? (See for example, Musgrave, 1978; O'Hear, 1981; Smith, 1982; Kleinig, 1982b; Pring, 1984; Quicke, 1985; Wright, 1986; McBeath, 1986).
4. What ought to be taught in moral education? Should teachers aim at passing on a set of values to pupils or should they limit themselves to helping pupils learn ways of developing their own value systems? (See for example, Peters, 1979a, 1979b; Leming, 1981; Straughan, 1982; Royce, 1983; Casement, 1984; Hare, 1986, 1987; Wright, 1986; Wilson & Cowell, 1987) Should moral education be a means of producing 'obedient' young adults or should it develop pupils' critical awareness with the ultimate goal of

improving society? (See for example, David, 1983)

5. Can moral education teachers be 'neutral'? If they can, should they be? (See for example, Warnock, 1975; Ward, 1982; Kleinig, 1982a; McPhail, 1982; Leicester, 1986; Plant, 1987)
6. Is it possible to recruit moral experts to teach moral education? Is moral education something which all teachers can teach? (see for example, Kleinig, 1982b; Gopinathan, 1988)
7. Which psychological theory should be adopted in structuring the moral education curriculum? (See for example, Kohlberg & Mayor, 1979; Kleinig, 1982b; Smith, 1982)
8. What should be the relationship between religion and moral education? (See for example, Ramsay, 1966; Woodhouse, 1985; Kettleday, 1986; and the special issue on this problem in the *Journal of Moral Education*, May, 1983)

Most Asian countries have to face an additional problem of the conflict between the indigenous culture and western culture (Takahashi, 1988). Similar problems have been reported in Nigeria by Obidi (1984) and Iheoma (1985). These issues also appear in the NIEF Research Bulletin (UNESCO-NIEF, 1981).

Lack of consensus is also found in other subjects (e.g. GYSL (Geography for the Young School Leaver) as reported in Dalton, 1988), but not to such a degree. Although value differences among the groups can be utilised to induce deep structural change (Holly, 1986), without a certain degree of consensus, implementation work will be bound to suffer (Imber, 1982). In cases where the curriculum change is centrally developed, it is very likely that the curriculum developers and the users will have divergent views. A curriculum welcomed by conservatives may be criticised by liberals; a curriculum acceptable to religious groups may be rejected by humanists. Even if curriculum development is school-based, teachers in the same school may also face a clash of standpoints. Furthermore, teachers having to face so many questions will be less committed to the change (Bugge, 1988) as they may lack the confidence, professional knowledge and skills to resolve them. Other researchers have made similar comments. Nipkow & Schweitzer (1985) assert that the problem of value consensus, value conflict and value change makes teachers' work in moral education more difficult than in other subjects. In Japan, the teachers' union has strongly opposed the moral education programme proposed by the government because of the fear of indoctrination (Takahashi, 1988; Tomoda, 1988). Similarly, Mukherjee (1983) asserts that if the conflict between rationality and religious doctrines is not resolved, the implementation of the moral education programme in Malaysia will be hindered. These assertions and examples from a number of countries illustrate how the controversial nature of moral education affects the willingness of teachers to become involved in moral education programmes. As the cooperation and commitment of teachers are important factors in successful implementation (Kleinig, 1982b; David, 1983), the controversial nature of moral education makes its implementation more difficult than that of other curriculum subjects.

Hersh & Mutterer (1975) also suggest that teachers feel uncomfortable in planning for and implementing affective curriculum because affective area has 'been traditionally treated as the more personal, private and subjective aspect of our lives' (p.65).

To implement a curriculum programme successfully, it is essential to have sufficient devoted and competent teachers. It is, however, unclear as to what qualities are required for successful moral education teaching, though Juhasz (1971) has postulated that teachers of sex education need the following qualities,

1. respect for students,
2. ability to communicate,
3. high degree of empathy,
4. good teaching technique, and
5. knowledge of the subject.

This assertion does not tell us much as these qualities are virtually applicable to all subjects. David (1983), however, has illuminated this problem. He writes,

'Personal and social education topics and informal approaches require from teachers certain skills and awareness:

1. an acceptance that schooling is about more than the subject-centred curriculum;
2. an awareness of the personal and social development tasks and needs of young people ; and
3. teaching skills which help young people face these personal and social developments' (p.37).

Belgium has developed specific training courses for moral education teachers (Devuyst, 1983). But other are not so fortunate. For example, in Hong Kong, teachers are trained as subject teachers. Moral education is not offered as a 'subject method' in teacher training courses. Consequently, there is unlikely to be a large number of teachers with knowledge and teaching skills relevant to moral education. The shortage of trained and competent moral education teachers has also been found in Holland (Plas, 1985) and England (David, 1983). In Nigeria, it has been found that teachers feel deficient in their knowledge of sex education, as a part of moral education (Adamolekun & Boyinbode, 1986). When developing a values education programme, the Puerto Rican government had to start a large scale staff training programme in moral education (Canon, 1988). These findings indicate the extent of the problem. Teachers without professional knowledge, skills and understanding of moral education will be likely to be less committed to moral education programmes. Their ability to tackle implementation problems will also be much inadequate.

Puerto Rico's experience in equipping teachers with the skills to carry out the moral education programme shows that this is not an easy task (Canon, 1990). It is very demanding in terms of resources and time.

Explicit moral education is usually structured in two ways: integrated with other subjects or as an independent subject. No matter which approach is adopted,

'The traditional school system of management through subject departments can be a major constraint. The examination system gives little status to personal and social education and too rigid a defence of traditional subject examination targets may leave little energy or resources for the establishment of new and demanding objectives concerned with personal needs, especially when there are competing demands from other new learning areas such as computer studies' (David, 1983, p.34).

Moral education as an independent subject will have to compete with other demands (e.g. computer studies, expansion of science and maths education) for curriculum time. Moral education, not being an 'academic' subject, suffer from having a lower status in school (Hargreaves et al., 1988). Having an 'integrated nature', implementing a moral education curriculum may, like the case of the implementation of environmental studies as reviewed by Goodson (1983), encounter the problem of finding enough teachers willing to get involved in it. On the other hand, integrating moral education with other subjects may create considerable coordination problems because of the large number of teachers involved. Furthermore, subject teachers will not necessarily invest effort in the teaching of values. Therefore, it seems that no matter how moral education is structured, it is bound to face opposition one way or another when it is put into practice.

To implement a change successfully, continuous evaluation of the change is essential to provide the necessary information for improvement (David, 1983) and also to increase the commitment of the users (Huberman, 1983). Evaluating a moral education programme is, unfortunately notoriously difficult (David, 1983) because of its ill-defined goals and the lack of effective evaluation techniques for reviewing changes in attitudes and behaviour. Some people claim that the aim of moral education is to change pupils' behaviour. But what sort of behaviour is desirable? Even if a set of desirable behaviour can be agreed upon, how can a teacher objectively and reliably measure pupils' behaviour? Furthermore, even if a pupil has shown 'improvement' in behaviour, how can one be sure that it is the effect of the moral education programme that has caused this. A child is affected by a wide range of influences. Havelock & Huberman (1977) has made this point clear, '... it is impossible to attribute changes in personal behaviours and attitudes solely to an educational intervention, unless it takes the form of a prolonged, intense treatment to the near exhaustion of other environmental effects.' (p.274)

An improvement in moral reasoning does not necessarily mean that pupils behave better. Finding a method of evaluation is extremely difficult for teachers and schools (Clarke, 1984; Wakeman, 1984; Plant, 1987). But without it, how can schools and teachers know whether the change is producing improvements and it should be institutionalised?

This discussion, because of limited academic work in this area, inevitably involves speculative claims and assertions. However, it does suggest lines worth investigating. This is one of the reasons for conducting the present study. It is hoped that it will offer more substantial research data for further exploration of this area.

VII. CONCLUSION

Implementation studies have arisen as a result of the failure of the technological perspective in the study of curriculum change. Although this field of study has only a fairly short history, it has opened up a promising line of enquiry into the understanding of curriculum change. Because of its potential in illuminating the process and product of change, the study of implementation is chosen as the focus of the present study.

As the implementation of educational change is carried out in schools, school personnel, mainly principals and teachers, are the key forces in shaping the process. Although there has been considerable research in this area (Fullan, 1984; Bolam, 1986), there are still many areas waiting for further exploration. This is particularly true in the implementation of moral education which has been badly neglected. Many questions are still waiting to be answered. This study will, it is hoped, help to improve our understanding of this neglected area.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BACKGROUND AND NATURE OF THE RECOMMENDED CURRICULUM CHANGE

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the background to and the characteristics of the moral education curriculum that is the subject of this thesis. First, the usual practice of curriculum development adopted by the central agency in Hong Kong is outlined. Secondly, the differences in the development and implementation strategies adopted in the changes in moral education is described. Following this, an analysis is undertaken of the amount and quality of support provided to the users by various groups. Finally, the General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools will be critically analysed to review the degree and scale of the recommended changes.

II. THE GENERAL PATTERN OF THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN HONG KONG

In August, 1988, the Education Department restructured the curriculum development system which had been in place for fifteen years in Hong Kong. As the moral education programme under discussion in this study was developed under the old system, the description and analysis in this section is centred on the characteristics of the old system rather than the restructured one.

A. *THE ADMINISTRATION STRUCTURE*

Curriculum development was highly centralised in the hands of two official agencies, the Curriculum Development Committee (CDC) (a branch of the Education Department) and the Hong Kong Examinations Authority (HKEA) (an independent organisation responsible for the administration of public examinations). The CDC, which began operations in 1973, was responsible for the designing and drafting of all the syllabuses to be used in primary and secondary schools up to form five level. Each subject in the school curriculum had its own CDC subject committee and overseeing these subject committees was the main curriculum development committee which acted as the coordinating body.

Brown, the Assistant Director of Education in charge of the Advisory Inspectorate in 1976, pointed out that 'curriculum implies not only what we teach but how we teach it' (Brown, 1976, p.3). This view of a curriculum was faithfully adhered to the work of the committees. For example, in the recommended curricula designed by the CDC, not only was the content listed, but also the aims, the theoretical structure and the teaching methods. Sometimes, a list of references on the teaching methods and audio-visual materials was included.

On the other hand, the Hong Kong Examinations Authority is a self-financing agency (Llewellyn et al., 1982) which works at "what is to be examined and how it is to be examined" (Morris, 1982, p.42). Like the CDC, each subject offered in the public examinations organised by the HKEA is represented by a subject committee at an appropriate level. For example, biology is examined in the Certificate of Education Examination, Higher Level Examination and Advanced Level Examination, so there are three biology committees in the HKEA responsible for the drafting of examination syllabuses for CE, HL and AL examinations respectively.

The CDC was comprised of representatives from various interest groups in education such as HKEA officers, school teachers and lecturers from universities and post-secondary institutions. The Advisory Inspectorate was supposed to provide administrative support to the CDC. In fact, its role was much more influential than it was claimed. The membership of CDC was, to a large extent, decided by the inspectorate staff. Furthermore, the CDC met only very infrequently, giving the inspectors a great deal of discretion to make important decisions about curriculum matters. The fact that the committees and working parties were all chaired by the inspectors also enhanced their influence tremendously. What made the matter even worse was that teachers usually served the committee for a period of two years only, which restricted their influence as the membership changed so frequently. Because of these practices, the senior officials strongly influenced the planning of curriculum change. The CDC, though fairly liberal and widely-representative on paper, was highly centralised in reality.

B. THE PROCESS OF CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

The process of the drafting of new syllabuses began with the CDC subject committees. After the subject committee had passed a new syllabus, it would be sent to the CDC main committee for approval. In the case of the syllabuses leading to public examinations, the subject committee of the HKEA would take up the teaching syllabus approved by the CDC and draft an examination syllabus for schools to follow. The CDC syllabuses for F.I to F.III, did not lead to public examinations, and so would not have examination syllabuses. Strangely enough, the CDC did not deal with F.VI and F.VII syllabuses. Instead the HKEA had complete control over the sixth-form curriculum through the publication of examination syllabuses for HL and AL examinations.

The HKEA examination syllabuses in the main outlined the content area and the examination techniques and requirements. When compared with the examination syllabuses published by the HKEA, the teaching syllabuses (sometimes called 'recommended syllabus', or 'curriculum plan') prepared by the CDC set out in much more detail, including the aims, objectives, content, suggested teaching approach, teaching activities and assessment techniques.

After the curriculum plans and examination syllabuses had been approved by the main CDC and the HKEA, they would be published and sent to all secondary schools for implementation. In

general, schools and teachers did usually adopt the recommended syllabuses because of their linkage to the public examinations, the constraints of the inspection system and the control over textbooks by the central agency.

Because of the importance of public examinations to students' careers, it was very unlikely that teachers would take the risk of not following the content of the recommended syllabuses. The types and styles of questions appearing in public examinations strongly affected teaching styles in classrooms (Morris, 1982, 1988).

Although there was no public examination in lower forms, other mechanisms such as the 'Education Ordinance' had ensured that schools adopted the recommended curriculum. For example, 'No instruction may be given by any school except in accordance with a syllabus approved by the director' (Education Ordinance, Subsidiary, 92 (1), 1971, 1986).

Teachers adopting the CDC recommended syllabuses would not be challenged as these syllabuses were endorsed by the Education Department. On the other hand, a teacher who wanted to use a syllabus different from those published by the CDC, would have to go through the process of drafting a new syllabus, getting the consent of the subject panel, the principal and the supervisor of the school and then sending it to the Advisory Inspectorate for approval by the Director of Education. Only 'the most determined and heroic teacher or principal' would take the trouble to go through this complicated and tiresome procedure (McClelland, 1987).

Furthermore, according to the regulation set by the E.D.:

'No person shall use any document for instruction in a class in any school unless particulars of the title, author and publisher of the document and such other particulars of the document as the Director of Education may require have been furnished to the Director not less than 14 days previously' (Education Ordinance, Subsidiary, 92(6), 1971, 1986).

This regulation means that schools would only use textbooks approved which was decided by the 'Textbooks Reviewing Committee' (Morris, undated), a sub-committee of the CDC. Textbook reviewers were appointed by the CDC which was administered by inspectors. One of the most important criteria used to decide whether a textbook should be included in the approved list, was whether the content of the textbook followed the CDC recommended syllabus. A few years ago, a high quality geography textbook adopting an approach which was different from the CDC suggested syllabus, was rated unfavourably by the Textbook Reviewing Committee. This regulation on teaching materials indirectly restricted the freedom of school and ensured that most schools would adopt the CDC syllabus. The adoption of the suggested syllabus was further ensured by the visits of inspectors to schools. A subject inspector would visit a school at least once every three years to see how the subject was taught. Usually, during a school visit, the inspectors would look at the teaching syllabus. Any deviations from the CDC recommended syllabus might be questioned or even challenged. It is not surprising therefore that most teachers preferred adopting the CDC syllabus.

Moreover, curriculum development was not an easy task for ordinary school teachers as it was time-consuming and required expertise. Although they might have been professionally trained to teach, teachers usually did not have the necessary knowledge, skills and time to develop their own curriculum. In the Postgraduate Certificate in Education course, exposure to principles of curriculum design was limited, and therefore not sufficient to develop teachers' ability in school-based curriculum development. Furthermore, with an average teaching load of thirty periods a week, plus administrative and clerical work, pastoral care of the pupils and the supervision of extra-curricular activities, it is not surprising that few teachers could spare the amount of time necessary for curriculum development unless they made extremely harsh personal sacrifices.

The above mechanisms and the teachers' conditions of work made it more or less certain that schools would adopt the content of the syllabuses issued by the CDC or the HKEA.

Despite the 'success' in pushing schools to adopt the recommended CDC curriculum, *full* implementation of new syllabuses was not always achieved. The study by Morris (1982) clearly illustrates this. Part of the reason for the 'partial' implementation was the inadequate effort invested in dissemination and implementation by the CDC, the E.D. and the HKEA.

The Education Department claimed that they had made efforts to implement curricula designed by the CDC. When a curriculum change was initiated, the Advisory Inspectorate usually organised short courses and seminars, and issued booklets and sample teaching materials to introduce the new curriculum. Teaching resource centres which housed teaching materials of various subjects, were set up for teachers. The Education Television section sometimes produced television programmes related to curriculum changes. For some curriculum change, a pilot scheme was run and some 'sample' teaching materials were produced. These efforts were far from satisfactory (Morris, 1985a). The number of teaching centres was limited and not conveniently located. The opening hours were awkward for teachers. For example, the Moral Education Teaching Resource Centre was only open on Wednesday afternoons and Saturday mornings. It was extremely doubtful if such small-scale dissemination efforts could generate the desired impact on the whole spectrum of teachers which was necessary to induce full scale implementation.

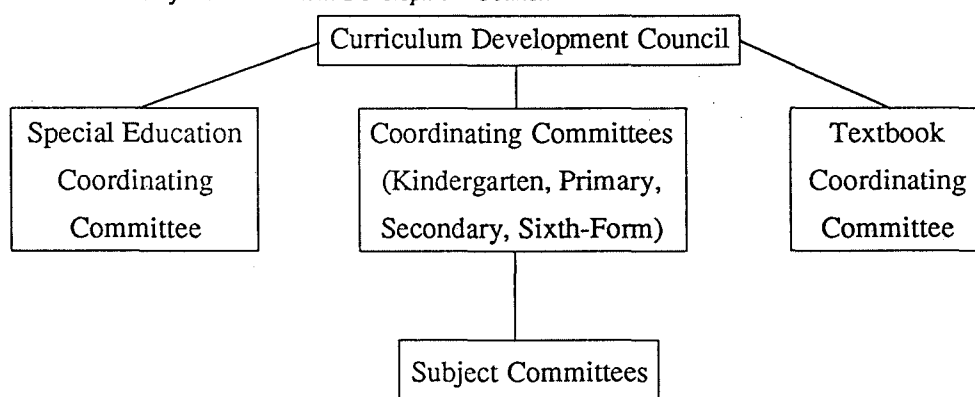
The Inspectorate and the HKEA, being bureaucratic in organisation and also greatly handicapped by shortage of manpower, naturally focused their attention on the content of the curriculum rather than other curriculum dimensions such as the theoretical framework, teaching methods and so on. To sum up, the curriculum development pattern in Hong Kong was an example of the 'centre-periphery' model (Morris, 1982). In disseminating and implementing curriculum changes, the Education Department relied on the classic tools of a power-coercive strategy (Morris, 1988). The main sources of direction of the curriculum were the officials of the Advisory Inspectorate and the HKEA (Morris, undated). School teachers, the major users of the innovations, were not involved in initiating the planned changes (Morris, op cit). Pressure from the public examinations, provisions

in the 'Education Act', inspection by the Inspectorate and the availability of teaching materials, all added together to ensure that teachers adopted the content of the recommended curricula. Dissemination and implementation of planned change were gravely neglected by the central agency. Innovation without change was the norm, rather than the exception, of the outcome of curriculum innovation.

C. THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM

In 1988, the Education Department decided to replace the CDC with the Curriculum Development Council which is comprised of six coordinating committees. The structure of the new Curriculum Development Council is shown in the chart below.

Fig. 3.1 : Structure of the Curriculum Development Council



The functions, composition and system of representation of the Curriculum Development Council do not differ much from the old CDC (Wong, 1988). Its constitution is based mainly on that of the CDC. The composition of the coordinating committees and the subject committees has been modified. Teachers have a wider representation in the subject committees and the chairperson of subject committee can only be elected from the teacher members. The membership of the Council has been expanded. Some of the coordinating committees have been newly established to take care of curriculum matters which are out of the reach of the CDC. The Sixth-Form Committee and the Special Education Coordinating Committee are examples.

Despite these modifications, the bureaucratic nature of the system has not been changed (Wong, 1989). The chairman of a subject committee pointed out that the officials are still highly influential in subject committees (Mr. Lee, interview). Most of the documents are classified and committee members are not allowed to release them. The members are mostly nominated by the officials. The system is still a highly closed one and the power is centralised (Wong, 1988).

III. THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF THE PROPOSED CHANGES IN MORAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM IN HONG KONG

The attempt to revive moral education in schools which forms the focus of this study is marked by

the issue of the 'General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools' published by the Education Department. The context of curriculum change and the development strategy of moral education is in a number of ways different from the normal practice described in the above section.

A. INITIATION

The drive for moral education is a product of the pressure exerted by the religious organisations (which run over half of the schools in Hong Kong), teachers, principals, social workers, the police and the general public (Fong, 1982). The introduction of the nine year compulsory education policy in the late seventies, markedly shifted the nature of Hong Kong secondary school education, from elitism to mass education. A large number of primary school leavers with low academic achievement who would previously have been pushed into the job market, continued their education.

The school curriculum, initially designed for the more able pupils, was not re-designed to cater for the needs of this much enlarged mixed-ability pool of pupils. Many schools and teachers were also not accustomed to teaching the less able pupils. Disciplinary problems in school increased rapidly. Teachers and principals complained about the lack of moral conduct of their students. Voluntary organisations, particularly the religious bodies, were also unhappy with the situation. Social workers, who had to deal with problem youths, urged the government to do something about it. Juvenile delinquency increased, especially amongst the school population. The number of prosecutions of young people (age 7 to 15) rose rapidly from 1,685 in 1977 to 3,853 in 1980 (Fong, 1982). The Governor admitted this problem in a paper to the Executive Council. The public also saw the rise of crime committed by the young people as a serious problem. The bibliography of materials on 'adolescence problems' compiled by Yau et al. (1983) shows that many reports, papers and newspaper articles on the problems of adolescents were written during that period.

In 1981, a special working party formed by the government published a report on the problem of juvenile delinquency. In the same year, the six largest religious organisations in Hong Kong formed a united front to petition the government to revive moral education, which was seen as an effective means of easing the problem (Fong, 1982).

The Governor responded positively to the call and instructed the Director of Education to take action. In April, 1981, a seminar on moral education was organised for the heads of all the secondary schools. Opinions were collected and published. Four months later, the Education Department issued the 'General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools' to all schools in Hong Kong for implementation.

It should be noted that these momentous steps were initiated and promoted by schools and people who were dealing with young people, rather than by the 'bureaucrats' in the E.D. or the HKEA. An official closely involved with the development of moral education admitted that '(it) was the

pressure (from outside) which induced the General Guidelines (on Moral Education in Schools)' (cited in Fong, 1982, p.132).

B. THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The official stance was not to treat moral education as a discrete subject. The Director of Education at that time, Mr. Haye, said 'moral education should permeate the whole curriculum' (Edu. Dept., 1981a, p.29). The development strategy was different from the usual procedure. Instead of a syllabus or a curriculum plan, the official curriculum guide was in the form of 'general guidelines'. This was an unprecedented way of initiating and developing a curriculum change in Hong Kong. An official closely associated with the development of moral education said that this strategy was designed by a high ranking official and approved by the Director without consulting teachers, principals, school organisations, academics or the public (interview, Mr. Ling).

The 'General Guidelines' document, unlike a CDC syllabus, was prepared by a working party including school teachers, principals and academics invited and appointed by the officials. A member of the working party said that the working party only met once throughout its life. The contribution of the working party (teachers, principals and academics) to planning and designing work was therefore minimal. Basically the General Guidelines document was written by an official in the working party (Mr. Ling, interview). Therefore, despite having a working party, the drafting of the Guidelines was simply a closed-door business with very low level of involvement of professionals, teachers and pupils. With no input from practicing school teachers, the relevance of the recommendations to the real needs of the schools and teachers is in doubt.

As moral education was not included as a subject for examination in HKCE or any other public examination, the HKEA had, throughout the development process, nothing to do with it.

In great contrast to the launching of CDC curricula, the officials have stressed repeatedly that the General Guidelines were intended for the reference of schools and they could decide what to do about them. For example, in 1983, the Inspector in charge of moral education said,

'The Education Department deeply feels that it should respect the characteristics of individual schools and should avoid direct interference with the independent decision-making right of the schools. Besides issuing the General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools, it mainly focuses on material collection, and facilitating exchange of ideas. It adopts a counselling stance in promoting the work' (Professional Teachers' Union News, 1.3.83).

Such a stance is more in line with a school-based curriculum development strategy (as defined by Skilbeck, 1984) than a centre-periphery one.

C. DISSEMINATION STRATEGY

The effort of the central agency to disseminate this change was minimal. There was no planned dissemination effort through formal or informal channels. No seminars, talks, workshops, demon-

strations or courses on moral education were organised in the first year of the innovation. There was also no attempt to use mass media as a communication channel. For example, in Wah Kiu Yat Po (which was the only Chinese newspaper with an education column at that time) and Ming Pao (a very popular Chinese newspaper among the middle-class in Hong Kong), there was no news released by the E.D. about the curriculum change in the first two months of its life. There was no public elaboration of the rationale, the content and the implications of the recommendations by officials.

As pointed out by Havelock & Huberman (1977), without channels to clarify the nature of the curriculum change, users may come up with very different interpretations. This is indeed what happened, as we shall see later.

D. RESOURCES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

The level of availability of resources provided by the central agency for implementing curriculum change in Hong Kong had been strongly criticised by academics (e.g. Morris 1985b; McClelland, 1988). There were even less resources available for implementing moral education than usual.

For curriculum change handled by the CDC, there was at least a detailed curriculum plan with clearly stated objectives, content and a list of reference materials disseminated to school teachers. In the case of moral education, the General Guidelines was very brief and sketchy with ill-defined objectives and no list of reference materials. (For detailed comments on the General Guidelines, see Section V of this chapter).

Schools adopting new CDC subjects received extra funds for new equipment, teaching aids and books. Moral education, which was not treated as a new subject, was not eligible for this source of funding.

Schools which adopted and implemented the moral education change did not get extra staff. This meant that teachers who volunteered or were assigned to the job of developing moral education in their schools did not have any concession with regard to their workload.

The Education Department did not organise any seminars, talks, or workshops on moral education for teachers until the academic year 1983-84, two years after the General Guidelines was published. The only support to teachers in the first year was the setting up of a 'moral education corner' in the Social Science Teaching Centre which was meant to help teachers to collect relevant teaching materials and to plan their lessons (Edu. Dept., 1982). The collection of materials was meagre and skimpy. Although, the moral education corner was later expanded to a resource room of a standard classroom size, the amount of material placed in the teaching centre was still inadequate. An official admitted the problem and said that during the early eighties, the government was very tight in its budget, and therefore funding for purchase of reference materials was very limited (senior inspector

of the religious and ethical education section, interview).

Furthermore, the Education Department did not produce any teaching materials for teachers. The only support on teaching materials was the publication of sets of 'reference materials'. But this came late. The first one was published and distributed to schools in 1984, three years after the curriculum change was initiated. Up to 1989, a total of seven sets of these reference materials had been published and these are available free to schools. In 1987, the Inspectorate, with financial support from a charity trust, published the moral education curriculum and the teaching materials produced by the principal and teachers of a secondary school.

Loucks-Horsley & Crandall (1986) have identified eleven kinds of external support system which could be made available to teachers. They include needs assessment, development, research/analysis, dissemination, planning, networking, implementation, training, evaluation, capacity building and mandating. None of these was provided by the central agency in the case of curriculum change in moral education in Hong Kong.

E. CONCLUSION

Table 3.1 sums up the differences in the development strategy for the changes in moral education in Hong Kong and the usual procedure for a curriculum subject through the CDC.

Table 3.1 The differences between the development strategy for moral education and the usual practice in other subjects

	USUAL PRACTICE	THE CASE OF MORAL EDU.
INITIATION	High officials in the CDC	Principals, educators, social workers, religious bodies, and the public in general
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY	centre-periphery, recommended curriculum issued for schools to follow	school-centred, the General Guidelines was issued for schools' reference. Schools were free to design their own curriculum
DISSEMINATION AND IMPLEMENTATION EFFORT	little	even less

The curriculum change in moral education was the result of pressure from the public who saw it as a means of tackling the deteriorating 'adolescence problem' both in and out of school. Being pressed for change, the Education Department responded in a hurry and put forward a change without careful planning.

A school-centred curriculum development policy was adopted for the first time in Hong Kong.

Although a set of recommendations was put forward, schools were given complete freedom to do what they wanted. The disentanglement from examinations, the absence of textbooks and teaching materials produced by the central agency, the 'laissez-faire' attitude of the Advisory Inspectorate meant that school teachers and principals had a very high degree of freedom in developing this aspect of the curriculum. This is in great contrast to the usual practice.

The dissemination efforts of the central agency were minimal. Comparatively speaking, the support given was even less than that provided for the CDC curricula. The users were not provided with the essential resources. Judging by the resources invested in this change by the central agency and the speed and style of its initiation, it looks as though it was a politically motivated attempt to pacify the general public who demanded that something had to be done to ease the deteriorating youth problem.

IV. THE SUPPORT PROVIDED BY OTHER AGENCIES TO THE USERS OF THE CHANGE

Effective support provided for school personnel for implementing a curriculum change in school is essential for success (Timar & Kirp, 1988). The work of the central agency in supporting the users, as described in the above section, was far from adequate. In this section support provided by other sources is described. In most curriculum innovations in Hong Kong, only the academic or professional institutions with direct interest in the innovation will organise functions or offer support for the implementation work. As moral education has received more concern from a wider spectrum of people e.g. social workers and the police, more groups outside the schools have shown an interest in the implementation of this change.

A. TEACHING MATERIALS

There was only one set of moral education textbooks specially written for Hong Kong students on the market when the change was initiated. Since then, not much teaching materials have been produced and most were not published until two or three years after the change was initiated.

The Independent Commission Against Corruption (a commission set up specially for curbing corruption) produced some teaching materials suitable for moral education. The Family Planning Association also developed some materials e.g. slides and pamphlets, but these were limited to sex education and family life education. The Family Planning Association and the Social Welfare Department both have a small resource library where teachers can find some teaching materials, mostly related to family life education.

B. TEACHER EDUCATION

Professional training for secondary school teachers is by either the two universities or the four colleges of education in Hong Kong. The former offer postgraduate teacher training courses similar

to the PGCE. The latter train teachers who are qualified for teaching from kindergarten to junior secondary level.

Up to 1988, moral education was not offered as a major or minor subject in the training courses mentioned above. Hence, the number of teachers who had received professional training in moral education was very small. In 1985, two colleges of education reviewed how they equipped their students to carry out moral education.

1. *Lectures in Education and Core Methodology courses*: Providing student teachers with concepts of moral education.
2. *Teaching Practice*: An opportunity for student teachers to put theories into practice and to understand their roles more thoroughly.
3. *Personal Tutorial System*: Providing guidance and counselling and stimulating discussion within the group, for example, on matters of current community interest, professional or moral significance, international concerns.
4. *Various other college activities, such as seminar, tutorials, complementary studies*: Aiming to broaden student teachers' perspectives and experiences.
5. *Student Union and Hostel Life*: Aiming at cultivating student teachers' autonomy, social consciousness, consideration, co-operation, sense of responsibility and human relationships' (Sir Robert Black College of Education, 1985, p.27).

These activities do not focus on developing key areas of knowledge and skill e.g. psychological theories on moral development, philosophical issues of moral education and moral education teaching strategy. Furthermore, to successfully carry out the integrated approach advocated in the General Guidelines, all the teachers of various subjects would need professional knowledge on how to teach values through their subjects (David, 1983). From a teaching syllabus for the geography major in a college of education, it is discovered that no specific effort had been made to incorporate this aspect. Values teaching was given less than one percent of the teaching time. In judging the quantity and quality of work on moral education in the colleges of education described above, one has to bear in mind that it was already 1985, four years after the call for change. It indicates that the colleges of education have not responded very positively to the initiative and little concrete work was done. This was especially so in developing the ability of student teachers to teach moral education.

The picture in the two universities was not very different. Moral education was not included in the major or minor subject list. Values education, though included in many of the subject majors, was very often not treated deeply enough. Geography is a case in point (Lam, 1984). Limited exposure and superficial treatment are not likely to bring about the desirable changes in teachers' skills, attitudes and commitment conducive to real implementation.

Another major source of teacher development is through extra-mural studies. A review of the University of Hong Kong Extra-mural courses (1980-88), one of the major organisers of extra-

moral courses in Hong Kong, shows that the first course on moral education was not started until one year after the General Guidelines was issued. Although from 1982 to 1986, there was one moral education course offered in each term, it was the re-run of the same course. The content of that course included the following topics,

‘the meaning of moral education, the principle of discipline in school, the organisation of disciplinary work in school, the content and methods of moral training, the causes of problem students, case studies’ (University of Hong Kong, 1982, p.45)

A strong emphasis was on maintaining school discipline. There was no discussion of how to develop moral education through the subjects which is the approach recommended in the General Guidelines.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising to find that both Lam, M.P. (1983) and Leung-Tsui (1983) have criticised the inadequacy of training for teachers to carry out moral education.

C. SEMINARS

Seminars, conferences and workshops, besides acting as channels for clarifying the nature and characteristics of change, can serve the purpose of teacher development. Some voluntary agencies have organised seminars on moral education. The major ones are listed below.

1. Dec., 1981
Seminar on Moral Education
by St. James Settlement School Social Work Service
- 2 Oct., 1982
Seminar on Moral Education
by the Alumni Association of the School of Education, Chinese University of Hong Kong
3. Dec., 1983
How to develop pupils’ sense of responsibility through activities
by Caritas, Hong Kong

These seminars were mostly whole or half-day ones with a few speakers making short speeches, mostly without concrete recommendations. In the implementation of a change called QUILL, Loucks & Zacchei (1983) found that ‘three days of training can leave teachers feeling prepared, yet still a bit overwhelmed’ (p.30). If this case can be generalised, it will be doubtful whether half-day and one day courses can really help teachers, especially in the case of implementing a radical, large-scale change.

Moreover, owing to the limited capacity, these functions accommodated only two or three representatives from each school who very often were the senior teachers (e.g. head of the disciplinary committee or counselling committee). In the seminar organised by the Alumni Association of the School of Education, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, over 250 educators and teachers took part. Each school could only send two or three representatives. Given that only a limited number of teachers from each school had the chance to participate in these functions it was difficult for them to disseminate what they learned from the functions.

D. EXPERTISE

Expertise on moral education was virtually unavailable in Hong Kong when the change was initiated. In the Education Department, there was not one inspector who had received professional training in moral education (Mr. Ling, interview). Judging from the academic papers published and research interest claimed, very few academics in the schools of education of the two universities specialised in moral education. The situation in the colleges of education was similar. This meant that even if schools wanted to try would have great difficulties in obtaining consultancy services from outside.

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RECOMMENDED CURRICULUM CHANGE

A. INTRODUCTION

The nature of the curriculum change in moral education is described in the General Guidelines. The aim of this section is to analyze the nature and scale of change, and the usefulness of the recommendations to school personnel.

B. THE ELEMENTS OF CHANGE

A curriculum is an entity made up of various parts. In assessing the nature and scale of the change, one can divide the curriculum into a number of dimensions (Leithwood, 1982) or elements (Stenhouse, 1980).

The suggested moral education programme stated in the General Guidelines can be divided into the following dimensions:

1. aims and objectives
2. structure of the programme: it is suggested that there are many ways to structure a moral education programme e.g. by an integrated approach, or as an independent subject or through pastoral care.
3. content
4. teaching strategies (or approaches): teaching strategy 'refers to a set of teaching actions intended to attain desired outcomes' (Husen et al., 1985, p.5148). Moral education teaching strategies can be classified in a number of ways. For example, Straughan (1982) divided moral education teaching strategies into two broad types: content-based and form-based. The content-based approaches aim at 'teaching a certain set of rules and principles to children' (op cit, p.52). The form-based approaches teach pupils 'some "distinctive" methods of moral reasoning' (op cit, p.81). Some moral educators use the term 'process-based' approach instead of 'form-based' approach.
5. teaching methods
6. time

In the General Guidelines, 'student entry behaviour', 'instructional material' and 'assessment tools and procedures' were not included. 'Structure' is the way the programme is arranged. Strictly speaking, it can be put under the 'content' dimension. But as this aspect has attracted a lot of attention and criticism, for the sake of evaluation and analysis, it is advisable to treat it as a category in itself.

C. THE CHANGES SUGGESTED

The details of the six elements are described below.

1. Aims and objectives: in the General Guidelines, the aim of moral education is stated in a very general and broad way:

'Moral education should aim at cultivating in the pupils moral attitudes and social values through the development of reflective or critical thinking' (Edu.Dept., 1981b, p.21).

Apart from this statement, there is no thorough discussion and explicit view of the objectives of the curriculum innovation.

2. Structure: Moral education is to be carried out through all subjects, through extra-curricular activities and through the hidden curriculum.

'It is generally recognized that the development of a moral sensibility is an important element in a pupil's education and that this should permeate the *whole curriculum* rather than be confined to specific lessons' (Edu.Dept., 1981b, p.14, my italics).

Besides the formal curriculum, moral education can be developed through extra-curricular activities such as morning assemblies, service to the community, interest groups (Edu.Dept., 1981b). As moral education is to be carried out through all subjects and extra-curricular activities, 'it is important ...that all teachers are made aware of the social implications of that aspect of the curriculum for which they are responsible' (Edu.Dept., 1981b, p.6).

There are a lot of schools run by churches and other religious organisations such as the Buddhist Association in Hong Kong. Most of these have had religious studies or ethics lessons for a long time. This type of lesson usually has a strong moral education element as it deals with students' attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours. The official view is that this type of lesson can provide a focal point for developing moral education, and schools are free to decide what to teach in these lessons (Edu. Dept., 1981b, p.14)

3. Content: Like 'aims and objectives', the suggestions are very general. It is recommended that the 'individual' can be a starting point of reference. 'It is essential that a pupil knows how to take good care of himself, use his mind creatively and keep himself emotionally fit' (Edu. Dept., 1981b, p.3). Besides this, the role of the individual in the family, in the school, community and the world at large should also be included (op cit). Besides this, no further recommendations about content were mentioned in the General Guidelines.

For religious studies and ethics, school authorities are free to decide the subject matter of the course (op cit).

4. Teaching strategy: It is advocated that it is undesirable to instill a rigid set of principles. 'It must be emphasized that there is no one universally accepted behavioural code... one serious pitfall is to think that one can teach a set of general moral principles without any reference to particular situation' (op cit, p.2).

A dogmatic type of moral training is not suitable (op cit).

The alternative suggested is that schools can create a suitable 'social environment' to facilitate students' development of moral values.

5. Teaching methods: Several teaching methods are mentioned: story telling, dramatization and role play, discussion, use of case studies, project methods and home reading. In general, they all have a common characteristic: they are pupil-centred.

D. THE NATURE AND SCALE OF CHANGES SUGGESTED

The central agency recommended the integrated approach which means moral education should permeate all subjects. The central agency claimed that this was not new because teaching moral values and attitudes development were included in the aims of all the recommended curricula and examination syllabuses. For example, in the CDC geography syllabus for Form one students, the following aims are listed:

1. To develop an attitude of objectivity and creativity in inquiry.
2. To develop an awareness of the need for co-operation among individuals and groups in solving community problems and in protecting the quality of the environment.
3. To develop sensible and sympathetic attitudes towards geographical problems in the homeland and other parts of the world' (CDC, 1983, p.14).

If all teachers, no matter which subject they teach, had touched upon moral education in their teaching as stated in the recommended syllabuses then the suggested change would have been a reassertion of established practice rather than a change.

Various sources of information suggest that this was not the case. A secondary school principal pointed out, in a seminar,

'many experts criticise (the integrated approach)... because not every subject can provide suitable chances for teachers to raise moral education issues. I completely agree with this point' (Poon, 1983, p.11).

This criticism implies that although the teaching of values and attitudes were stated in the recommended curricula and examination syllabuses developed prior to the moral education curriculum change, many teachers and principals did not think that there were appropriate opportunities for developing values teaching through those subjects, not to mention putting it into practice.

Sit (1983) pointed out that teachers found it difficult to teach moral education because they did not have enough knowledge of it, and found it vague and difficult to understand. If teachers had frequently included moral education elements in their subject teaching, there should not have been such problems.

From the above views and comments on the General Guidelines and practice in subject teaching, it can be inferred that carrying out moral education through all subjects was not a common practice among teachers. This means that the recommended integrated approach radically deviated from existing classroom practice. All teachers, no matter which subject(s) they taught, were required to invest some of their time in moral education. This would involve restructuring, to some extent, the content of their subjects. Thus, the recommended way of structuring moral education was not only radical in nature, it was also large in scope as it affected every curriculum subject.

Although, the 'individual', and the role of the individual in the family, school, community and the world are suggested as the main topics, in principle, according to the General Guidelines, school authorities were free to decide the content of the curriculum. It is difficult to assess the degree of change in content as it all depends on what the content was before the General Guidelines were issued and how the individual school reacted to the call for change. There are no data at all from which to draw a conclusion, not even a tentative one, about the degree of change of content.

Similarly, there are no concrete data to illustrate the teaching strategy teachers adopted before the publication of the General Guidelines. However, it looks as though a significant proportion of school personnel had tended more towards the content-based approach rather than the form-based one recommended in the official General Guidelines. In a seminar on moral education held in 1982, most of the speakers (who were either school teachers or principals) criticised the General Guidelines for not having included common moral principles. From this 'widely accepted' view, it can be inferred that the content-based approach was common among school teachers at that time. The call to adopt a form-based teaching strategy was, thus, a sharp deviation from the established practice in schools.

Teaching methods described in the General Guidelines as examples of suitable ones for moral education, were not new. Teachers should have come across them in their teacher-training courses. However, the crux of the issue in identifying the degree of change is: did teachers use them frequently in their teaching before the moral education curriculum change was introduced? Knowing such techniques does not necessarily mean that teachers used them. Unfortunately, there are not enough data to draw a conclusion. But if the study by Morris (1982) indicating that Economics teachers did not use pupil-centred teaching methods frequently can, in any way be generalised, then we might arrive at an assertion that pupil-centred activities were not commonly used by teachers.

In sum, schools which attempted to implement moral education in the way spelt out in the General Guidelines would have to make drastic changes. The curricula of all subjects would have to be modified so as to put more emphasis on the 'attitudes and values' domain. Extra-curricular activities and, indeed the whole school climate might have to be modified to accommodate the change. The form-based teaching strategy which stresses the enhancement of pupils' abilities and skills in

choosing or developing their values and attitudes, was new to teachers. Pupil-centred teaching methods would also have to be used.

Brown & McIntyre (1982) classify curriculum innovations into two types: organisational and pedagogical change. Organisational change only involves changes in the structure of the management, purchase of new teaching materials or apparatus. It does not affect teachers' behaviour in the classroom. On the other hand, pedagogical innovation requires teachers to adopt new teaching strategies or teaching methods in their teaching. Usually, this means that teachers have to acquire new techniques. According to this classification, the moral education curriculum change involves both organisational and pedagogical changes. It has been claimed above that to implement the suggested curriculum, teachers would have to adopt teaching strategies which were very different from those they were using previously. As the curriculum change involved extra-curricular activities and the creation of a suitable social environment, it would definitely require some restructuring of staffing and purchase of new materials. For example, more staff would be needed to organise extra-curricular activities. Committees might have to be set up to coordinate moral education teaching activities organised by various societies and interest groups. Moreover, the General Guidelines suggests that in primary schools,

'the class teacher should be allowed to take his own class for as many periods as can be arranged. By spending more time with his own class, he can know them better and can convey moral concepts through his teaching more easily. Under such arrangement, the teacher may find pupils confiding in him their joys and worries' (Edu. Dept., 1981b, p.10)

To implement this, primary school administrators would have to consider this element in assigning teaching duties and staff deployment. This was an 'organisational change' according to Brown & McIntyre's (1982) definition.

E. EVALUATION OF THE SUGGESTED CHANGES

The General Guidelines was meant to point the direction for schools to develop moral education curriculum change (South China Morning Post, 11.9.81). In this section, I shall try to evaluate this official paper from the following points of views:

1. Are the suggestions clear enough for the users to identify the direction?
2. Have the recommendations covered all the important issues which school personnel must solve during the implementation process?

1. Clarity

Lam, M.P. (1983), in summing up the opinions of participants of a large scale seminar on moral education, writes,

'The Education Department should formulate more concrete, clearer aims and plans of moral education' (p.52).

This reflects the fact that a large number of school personnel found the Guidelines too vague. If one reads the Guidelines carefully, it is not difficult to find evidence to substantiate this criticism. The

idea of carrying out moral education through all subjects is proposed, but only one and a half pages are used for expanding this idea. Within this, only one paragraph is used for describing how to use Chinese Literature, Chinese History, Mathematics, Biology, Integrated Science, Home Economics, Art, Music, Design and Technology, and Physical Education for moral education. With such limited coverage, the descriptions and suggestions are bound to be very superficial. If one takes into consideration the fact that teachers are not familiar with the integrated approach, the sketchy and superficial suggestions in the General Guidelines are not very useful to them when it comes to actual implementation.

A similar case can be found in the area of 'aims and objectives'. Although there is brief discussion on various schools of thought, there is only one sentence on the aims of this change, i.e. 'moral education should aim at cultivating in the pupils moral attitudes and social values through the development of reflective or critical thinking' (Edu. Dept., 1981b, p.2). Faced with such a vaguely defined aim, school teachers would have to answer the following questions before they could carry out the suggested curriculum change:

- a. what are the 'moral attitudes and social values' which they should cultivate in students?
- b. what does 'reflective' and 'critical thinking' mean?

Moreover, these guidelines are designed for all kindergartens, primary and secondary schools. The aims of moral education in primary schools are arguably different from those in secondary schools because of the different level of students' cognitive and moral development.

The official recommendation on the relationship between schools and parents is:

'In a rapidly developing commercial and industrial place like Hong Kong, materialistic attractions abound and there is certainly a need for schools to make explicit to parents their aims on moral education and seek their cooperation in helping their children maintain integrity and moral standards' (Edu. Dept., 1981b, p.18).

Nobody will reject the need for close cooperation between schools and parents. The core of the problem is how to do it. It is pointed out that parents' day, speech day and open day are 'excellent channels for such communications' (op cit, p.15).

Besides this, no further elaboration or more concrete recommendations are made. The value of such general statements and recommendations to school administrators and teachers is sadly low.

Besides being very general and superficial, some of the arguments and suggestions contradict themselves. One of the most striking examples is about which teaching strategy is suitable for moral education. Table 3.2 lists the statements about teaching strategy found in the General Guidelines. Statements on the left hand side all argue for the absence of universally accepted moral codes or principles which implies that form-based teaching strategies (e.g. values clarification, values analysis etc.) should be adopted. Quotations on the right hand side of the table contradict the above suggestion. For example, it is argued that moral codes (school discipline) should be enforced and punitive measures are acceptable. This is a way to impose certain values on the students. Furthermore, schools are free to use religious studies and ethics lessons for developing moral education. In religious studies, certain religious beliefs are promoted. In other words, certain codes

of practice or values are upheld or accepted as 'right', for example, the Ten Commandments. So, if religious schools are free to use religious studies for developing moral education, teachers are bound to pass on to the students certain values or moral principles.

'if we try to give a dogmatic type of moral training to our pupils, they may find it difficult to respond to moral problems for which they have not been prepared.' (p.2)

'The system of school discipline imparts its moral code. There are authorities to respect and rules and regulations to observe, the infringement of which may entail punishment. Such punitive measures imposed on the child should be accepted as learning experiences for the betterment of his future behaviour' (p.4)

'One serious pitfall is to think that one can teach a set of general moral principles without reference to particular situations.....' (p.6)

'It is clear that at both primary and secondary level the staff of the school are either directly or indirectly involved in (moral training).' (p.6)

'Many schools offer religious studies/ethics as a separate subject and periods assigned to this subject in the target common-core curriculum of the junior secondary school curriculum for example, provide a suitable focal point for developing moral education in accordance with the line of religious study pursued.' (p.6)

Table 3.2 Contradictory recommendations on teaching strategy in the General Guidelines

How will teachers interpret these contradictory recommendations? Will they be confused? It is very likely that contradictions of this type will completely baffle teachers. If one takes into consideration the fact that most teachers have not received any professional training on moral education and there is an acute shortage of books on the theory and practice of moral education in Hong Kong, it is most unlikely that the contradictory suggestions will be helpful to the teachers implementing the curriculum change.

2. Coverage

Though the General Guidelines publication covers many issues, some important areas have not been touched upon. 'Student entry behaviour' is an important dimension of curriculum planning as it should form the starting point of the planning of innovations. Without a clear picture of the present situation, it would be extremely difficult to work out how things should be changed. Unfortunately, descriptions of the present situation and problems, ways to identify and evaluate student entry behaviour have not been included in the General Guidelines. Evaluation, another important area (Pring, 1984; Wakeman, 1984) is also neglected.

F. CONCLUSION

It is not clear why the official recommendations were so vaguely-defined. One insider commented during an interview that this was done purposely to avoid offending any one of the interest groups such as religious organisations running schools (Mr. Ling, interview). Another possible reason is

that the document was drafted by official(s) with practically no professional training in moral education. No matter what the reasons were, the sketchy, vague and occasionally contradictory suggestions would very likely lead to implementation problems.

VI. CONCLUSION

The call to revive moral education by the Education Department is an attempt to pacify school personnel and the public in general who had complained strongly about the 'adolescence problem'. The change was designed in a rush without any involvement on the part of professionals.

The recommendations for change are radical in nature and large in scale, making them difficult for users to implement. The complexity of the change means that it was likely to encounter many problems during the adoption and implementation process (Havelock & Huberman, 1977), and the need for reassurance and support was great (Nias, 1987b). Furthermore, the curriculum change was defined in a vague and general manner which, although it might help to get through the adoption stage, might aggravate the implementation process (Fullan, 1982; Havelock & Huberman, 1977). In great contrast to the centralised system established in 1973, schools and teachers were given almost 'complete' freedom to determine whether to adopt the change and also to design the content, approach, teaching methods and means of evaluation. Such a sudden shift to a 'laissez-faire' policy meant that the change might become a 'school-centred' curriculum change for which schools and teachers had no experience at all. Besides this, only a small number of principals and teachers had professional training in moral education.

Given this tradition and the organisational environment (as defined by Zaltman et al., 1977) under which the change was implemented, what we know from curriculum theory suggests that serious problems would occur during the implementation process. Some academics, principals and teachers actually voiced their worries and difficulties (see for example, Edu. Dept., 1981a). The central agency, however, had not invested much to help schools and users. Though some voluntary agencies and the ICAC have tried to help, the total amount of support and resource available was limited.

In such a context, it was very likely that the goals of the change would not be achieved. Was this really the case? How did principals and teachers react to the change? How did they face the call for change? How did they tackle the difficulties? Could the users achieve anything under such an unfavourable organisational environment? If yes, why? What did they do?

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN

I. INTRODUCTION

'Each (research) strategy has peculiar advantages and disadvantages' (Yin, 1984, p.13). In using any techniques of data collection, analysis or reporting, a researcher must work in the context of a trade-off. Therefore, a researcher should consider the following when constructing a research design:

1. the goals of the research (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984),
2. the research questions asked (Yin, 1984, Goetz & LeCompte, 1984),
3. 'the control an investigator has over actual behavioural events' (Yin, 1984, p.13),
4. the resources (time, funding, personnel and equipment) which the investigator can command (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

It was with these points in mind that I set out to plan this study.

II. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. *'THEORY' IN THE RESEARCH*

Despite the fact that studies on curriculum implementation are increasing in quantity, there seems to be still a long way to go in developing higher level theory. Many models and theories on curriculum change have been criticised as lacking explanatory power and are not useful to practitioners.

In general, studies on curriculum changes in developing countries are far less advanced than those in the developed countries. In Hong Kong, the number of academic researches of curriculum implementation is very small. Studies on school-based curriculum change and moral education in school are virtually non-existent. Hence there is little knowledge and understanding of these areas. Facing this situation, it seemed potentially more fruitful to carry out an exploratory study in Hong Kong rather than to verify a theory based on the American or British experience.

Taking a 'theory-later' stance, however, does not mean that this study is theory-free. A theory-free study may lose its direction and sharpness (Miles, 1979). Even Wolcott (1975), an anthropologist, admits the impracticality of an unfocussed and atheoretical stance. In this study, I, like many ethnographers, use 'previous research and theory to select the setting' to be studied and 'to inform the initial focus' of information gathering (Wilson, 1977, p.260). For example, adopting Berman's (1981) view, in this study focus is placed on implementation processes as a means to understanding the outcome of change.

B. BREADTH VS. DEPTH

Experiences of curriculum studies have elicited the inadequacy of just knowing the input-output information. 'Process data' is a must in developing a real understanding (Stenhouse, 1980; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). The perception of the users (i.e. the principals and the teachers), their ways of handling changes, together with pupils' reactions are some of the key issues. To consider them, it is necessary to adopt a cultural, holistic perspective.

An ideal way might be to delve into a large number of schools. Given the scale of this project, financial, physical and time resources were limited. Inevitably, the dilemma between breadth and depth came up.

Choosing 'breadth', e.g. adopting the 'survey' strategy, the study would most probably achieve no more than the mapping out of some general patterns about the implementation process. This, 'while providing a basis for prediction, does not constitute a theory. A theory must include reference to mechanisms or processes by which the relationship among the variables identified is generated' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p.20).

On the other hand, the case study approach being 'holistic and lifelike' can provide 'thick description' (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p.376). It 'gives insight into specific instances, events or situations' (Walker, 1980, p.33).

The diagnostic power of in-depth case study work will help to review the whole picture including the underlying structure, teachers' perceptions, the complexity of the interaction of the users, the context of change, the implemented curriculum and the decision-making process of teachers. Simons (1980), Shaw (1978) and Stenhouse (1980) all point out the advantages of using case studies in curriculum evaluation and curriculum change studies.

However, the case study strategy is not without criticism. Yin (1984) sums it up,

1. 'lack of rigor of case study research. Too many times, the case study investigator has been sloppy, and has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions',
2. 'take too long and result in massive, unreadable documents'.
3. case studies 'provide very little basis for scientific generalisations' (p.21).

The first two criticisms are only applicable to sloppy case studies. Good case study researchers take great care in the whole process including the 'gathering of evidence, its criticism and its interpretation' (Stenhouse, 1978, p.31) and also its presentation. Ball's (1981) study of the 'Beachside Comprehensive' vividly illustrates the validity and the readability of high quality case study.

The real problem concerning the use of case studies is how one can justify studying only one instance (Walker, 1980, p.34). One has to admit that case studies are at best only 'partial accounts' of the whole population (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Yin (1984) argues that case studies, unlike survey researches rely on *analytical* generalization rather than *statistical* generalization. The case study

investigator 'is striving to generalize a particular set of results to some broader theory' (op cit, p.39).

Similarly, Stenhouse (1978) feels, 'good chess is learned by the study of many individual games' (p.29). In the long run, the accumulation of data and findings from case studies will help to sharpen theories through comparison, refutation and confirmation. Practitioners can also improve their work.

The weakness of the case study approach for developing generalisations can be remedied through adopting the strategy of 'multi-site case studies' which has the advantages of raising the validity (Yin, 1984) and improving the theory-generation process through comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Taking into consideration the sort of information needed and the resources available, it was decided that three schools were to be studied in the first phase. After these initial case studies were completed, eight other schools were studied to reveal the applicability of the propositions derived from the case studies and refine them, if necessary. Although a larger number of schools were studied in this second phase, the generalisations made after the Phase II study still cannot be described as 'scientific statistical generalisations'. However, as the 'samples' were carefully selected to ensure that different types of schools were included, the generalisability was further improved. This two-phase research design with 'multi-site case studies' can, to a large extent, resolve the 'breadth-depth' dilemma.

C. ETHNOGRAPHIC TECHNIQUES

The research methods adopted in Phase I of this study, i.e. the case studies, are very similar to those of the ethnographers. Participant observation, interviews (both formal and informal) and documentary analysis, were the key techniques used. This choice was made with the consideration of its suitability to the nature and range of information required to answer the research questions.

As specified in Chapter One, the key themes of this study were the characteristics of the curriculum implemented, the role of the school personnel and the decision-making processes of the users. The information required was therefore closely related to the layout of the curriculum and the personal views of the people involved. To review the former, observation, both inside and outside of the classroom was essential, as this technique can reveal the 'real' implemented curriculum. On the other hand, the early versions of the curriculum could only be found in the documents and from the memory of the people involved. Hence, interviews, archival search and analysis were needed.

An effective and efficient way to study decision-making processes is through interviews. The interviewee can 'teach' the researcher to interpret his/her feelings, perceptions, intentions, beliefs and rationale of decision making on implementation issues (Yin, 1984). This, supplemented by documentary analysis, can provide the information to re-construct the picture and enhance our understanding.

Using multi-variate methods, besides enabling the capture of the wide range of data needed, also results in 'a wealth of data' (Burgess, H., 1985, p.190), which provides good raw data for triangulation. Data will be more convincing and accurate (Yin, 1984). A review by Yin (1982) shows that gathering evidence from many sources and methods is a common characteristic of good implementation studies.

Although borrowing strongly from ethnography in techniques, it must be pointed out that this study is not an ethnographic research by its 'stricter' definition. Before elaborating on this, it is necessary to clarify what ethnography is.

'Ethnographic research' is a confused term as it has been practised in divergent ways (Sanday, 1983) and the term has been used very loosely. For example, Woods (1986) considers ethnography as a type of research methodology with distinctive theoretical assumptions, aims, content and techniques. However, Hammersley & Atkinson (1983) just treat it as a research method equivalent to participant observation.

Most researchers consider ethnographic research as a type of research strategy rather than just a field technique. Goetz & LeCompte (1984) point out that,

'Ethnography is characterized and distinguished from other research models along dimensions of assumptive modes and design conventions' (p.X).

The two sets of hypotheses about human behaviour which ethnographic research is based on are:

1. the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis,
2. the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis (Wilson, 1977).

In terms of research techniques used, participant observation is the key (op cit). It is also characterised by the variety of methods used.

If these characteristics are adopted in defining ethnographic research, a range of researches, including case study (as advocated by Stenhouse (1978, 1980)) would be included in it. This is exactly what Goetz & LeCompte (1984) have done. They use ethnographic research as a 'short rubric' term to describe qualitative research, case study, field research and ethnography.

Wolcott (1975), however, is stricter in defining this term. He criticised the inappropriate use of the term. In his view,

'The term ethnography belongs to anthropology; ethnography provides the basic descriptive data on which cultural anthropology is founded. An ethnography is literally, an anthropologist's "picture" of the way of life of some interacting human group or views as process, ethnography is the science of cultural description' (p.112).

In 1980, he listed the typical features of ethnographic research. Ethnographic research is undertaken:

1. In a culture that is unfamiliar to the researcher,
2. By an individual rather than a large research team,
3. In a setting that permits observation of a full cycle of events (rather than on a short-term basis),
4. In such a way that the researcher serves as the primary research instrument,
5. So that the researcher employs many of the techniques used by anthropologists,

6. In a way that allows as much time for analysis and interpretation of information as for collection of information' (p. F.3).

If Wolcott's view is taken, the first stage of this study is different from the 'classic ethnographic research' in a number of ways, viz:

1. The time spent in the field is not as long as an ethnographer usually spends;
2. Participant observation, though one of the important tools used, is far from the dominant research method;
3. The culture studied is not unfamiliar to the researcher as he had been a secondary school teacher for a number of years;
4. The aim of this study is not restricted to producing an interpretative description of the subject as theory development is an essential part.

This study is exactly one of the studies on implementation process and formative evaluation which, 'required data collection techniques familiar to ethnographers, even though the practical nature and often relatively short time-span of the projects were not entirely congruent with classic ethnographic fieldwork.' (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p.30)

D. QUALITATIVE DATA

The confusion over terms like ethnographic research, the case study approach, qualitative research and so on have been documented in many studies (see for example, Kenny & Grotelueschen, 1984; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Yin, 1984; Van Maanen, 1983). The definition of 'qualitative' varies to a large extent (Van Maanen, 1983). Miles (1979) treats it as the research strategy which contrasts most with quantitative research based on positivism, statistical analysis and theory verification.

Kirk & Miller (1986) however, say,

'By our pragmatic view, qualitative research does imply a commitment to field activities. It does not imply a commitment to innumeracy. Qualitative research is an empirical, socially located phenomenon, defined by its own history, not simply a residual grab-bag comprising all things that are "not quantitative"' (p.10).

Goetz & LeCompte (1984) disagree with the idea of dichotomizing research into qualitative and quantitative types.

Yin (1984) has helped to sort out the confusion. 'Qualitative' data is a type of evidence while case study is a type of research strategy. Case studies, though often associated with qualitative data (Kenny & Grotelueschen, 1984), are not excluded from the use of quantitative data (Yin, 1984). Similarly, qualitative data is not limited to case study. In the second phase of the present study, eight schools were studied and teaching staffs were interviewed. The data collected are also qualitative. The choice for relying heavily on qualitative data in this study is not made out of the researcher's personal choice. It was the nature of the study which shaped the choice. Words are undeniably more suitable than numbers in providing 'theoretically grounded, analytical accounts of "what happens" in reality' (Finch, 1985, p.113).

III. THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

A. PHASE I

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Being a pioneer study in this area in Hong Kong, it is necessary to reconstruct the picture of the context in which the curriculum change took place.

Two major local Chinese newspapers (Ming Pao and Wah Kiu Yat Pao) dated from March to November, 1981 (the period before and after the issue of the official document on moral education curriculum change) were read to extract information related to the development of the curriculum change.

Knowing the support systems available to the curriculum users can help in the understanding of why implementation is a success or not (Wang et al., 1984). Therefore, attempts were made to review the support system opened to school personnel. For example, teaching materials available to the schools, including textbooks and magazines (e.g. 'Breakthrough'), were reviewed. Staff development opportunities on moral education were explored. In addition, three officials involved in the change were interviewed. One of them, who became a very helpful resource person for the researcher, was interviewed twice.

2. CASE SELECTION

'The appropriateness of any generalization from a case study depends largely on an understanding of the context of that study and the ways in which that context may approximate conditions elsewhere' (Rogan & MacDonald, 1985, p.63). Therefore, the cases for the present study were selected carefully.

In Phase I, three secondary schools which had made serious attempts to develop the curriculum change were selected for in-depth study. This criterion for selection was set because moral education was developed under a school-centred strategy. Given the freedom of choice, some schools could refute or ignore the call for change. Studying these schools would only show the reasons of not adopting the curriculum change. It would be more meaningful to analyse the situation in schools which had made serious attempts to put the curriculum change into practice. By doing so, the key issues about the implementation process could then be reviewed. For example, difficulties encountered by the users and how they tackled them.

The first case study school was chosen purely on this basis. It was a school renowned for its moral education programme. From studying this case, it is possible to derive some preliminary thoughts on curriculum implementation processes. For example, it was found that the implemented curriculum and change process were associated with the views of the teachers' and the school authority on moral education. The lack of consensus of views among the teaching staff was another important factor.

A school which sharply contrasted with this one in the outlook of the teachers and school climate was selected as the second case. This school had a very strong religious background. The teachers and the principal had similar religious views and aims of teaching. The school climate was 'democratic'. Teachers were involved in decision-making concerned with major school business. The relationships between teachers and the principal was cordial.

The findings of these case studies further extended the researcher's understanding. It was decided that the third case should have the following characteristics to compare and contrast with the two previous cases:

1. It was without any religious background;
2. The level of cordiality of relationship among staffs was judged to be intermediate between the first and the second case;
3. The academic ability of the pupils were higher and there were fewer discipline problems.

In sum, 'theoretical sampling' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) or 'case study by principles' (for those who strongly object to using the term sampling) was adopted in selecting schools at this stage of the study. The second and third cases were selected purposely for theoretical replication which 'produces contrary results but for predictable reasons' (Yin, 1984, p.49) and literal replication which 'predicts similar results' (op cit, p.48). This way of selecting cases can facilitate the generation, refinement and verification of theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Yin, 1984).

3. DATA COLLECTION

The researcher spent four weeks in each school. The timing of the fieldwork was as given below:

First school – whole of June, 1987

Second school – Dec, 1987 (for two weeks), March, 1988 (two weeks)

Third school – whole of June, 1988

During the fieldwork period, I normally stayed throughout the working hours. The first few days were spent on establishing rapport with the staff. Records of the past and present curriculum were studied to get a general picture of what had been accomplished and what was being carried out. This information provided valuable guidance and assistance to the researcher in planning interviews and observations.

The gathering of archives was an ongoing process with the aim of collecting as much useful information as possible. Documents like minutes of staff-meeting and subject panel meeting, curriculum plans and school magazines proved to be important sources of information. As time was limited, permission was sought to photocopy the potentially useful documents for detailed analysis at a later stage.

The second important source of data was acquired from interviewing the teachers, the headteachers and the pupils. Before each interview, background information on the interviewee was obtained, including the subject taught, teaching experience and present post held. This was used to prepare tailor-made questions. For example, the Head of the Civic Education Committee in one of the cases was asked:

- a. Why was the Civic Education Committee set up?
- b. Is there any interaction between your committee and the moral education programme? If yes, what sort of interaction?
- c. How do you see the relationship between civic education and moral education?
- d. What type of activities does your committee organise?

Having a set of customised questions in mind did not mean that a structured interview was used (Measor, 1985). Instead, I followed Saran's practice (1985),

'I do not necessarily ask them in a particular order, as that would make for a rigid, rather than a flexible, flow of answers' (p.223).

The three schools studied all had around fifty teachers and over a thousand pupils. Interviews had, therefore, to be selective.

Because the manner of developing the curriculum change varied between schools, the number of teachers involved in the change was not the same for each school. It was, therefore, not practical to decide rigidly on the number of interviews. The principle adopted was to talk to any one who, it was felt, could 'teach' the researcher to understand the process. The information received from earlier interviews, observations and documentary analysis guided the researcher in selecting interviewees (Wilson, 1977). The number of teachers interviewed in each case is listed in the following table.

NUMBER OF STAFF INTERVIEWED	
SCHOOL A	11
SCHOOL B	13
SCHOOL C	11

Table 4.1 Number of staff interviewed in the case studies

In addition to the formal and planned interviews, informal conversations, discussions with teachers in the staffroom, along the corridors and after school social functions, were other important ways of obtaining personal views (Finch, 1981).

Similarly, the interviews of pupils can be divided into two types: formal and informal. During my stay in the schools, I purposely spent some time talking with the pupils in the corridors, library, canteen and playground. From the conversation with them, high quality data about their views on the moral education programme and the school as a whole, were tapped. In some cases, the information from informal interviews was so rich that I could cut down the number of formal interviews. For example, there were fewer formal interviews in School B because I was able to interact vigorously with more than twenty senior form pupils in various contexts.

The final figures and ways of arranging the formal interviews are listed below:

		SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B	SCHOOL C
NUMBER OF PUPILS INTERVIEWED	FORM ONE	3	4	5
	FORM TWO	3	3	5
	FORM THREE	2	3	5
	FORM FOUR	2	3	—
	FORM SIX	2	—	—

Table 4.2 Number of pupils formally interviewed in the case studies

The third major technique used was observation, mainly of the teaching process, including morning devotions, assembly, classroom teaching and extra-curricular activities. The situation was very different in each school. For example, in School B, there was assembly every day to which I was invited. But in the other two schools, assembly was an occasional activity. Therefore, the number of observations made varied. The principle was to observe as many as possible. However, it must be pointed out that access to the classrooms was not in the researcher's hands. In some cases, the researcher had to be satisfied with observing fewer sessions than planned. (This problem of gaining access will be discussed in Section IV.A). The number of observations made are:

	NUMBER OF SESSIONS OBSERVED
SCHOOL A	
Social Education	6
SCHOOL B	
Morning Devotions	15
Christian Ethics	8
Form Period	1
Assembly	1
SCHOOL C	
Moral Education	10
Assembly	1

Table 4.3 Number of moral education sessions observed in the case studies

Members of teaching staff were informed and approval sought before I observed the sessions. Notes were taken to record the teaching procedure, teaching aids used and teaching strategies adopted. Pupils' responses and activities were also noted. After the lessons, the teachers usually invited me

to discuss either more or less informally about what I had observed and they, very often, explained to me why the sessions were conducted in the way they were. This produced a very helpful set of supporting data on the actual teaching practices and principles adopted by teachers in lesson planning and delivery.

Besides these more 'formal' observations, I always kept myself alert to see and hear things in the schools which might contribute to this study. After all, staying in the field for a period of time provides the best chance to feel and observe the culture and life of the people and place.

For clarity of presentation, the research techniques used are described separately. In fact, the research process was very much an ongoing spiral-like activity (Saran, 1985). The data collection techniques were used in an 'interwoven' manner in the field. Wilson's (1977) advice of using information gathered to direct subsequent data collection was adopted. Findings from archival search pointed to who I should talk to, what to ask and what I should pay attention to during observation. Interviewees very often told me what I should look for and what documents would be useful. From observations, questions and talking points for interviews emerged. These often led to further explorations.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

The fieldwork generated a large amount of data in the form of fieldnotes, interview transcripts, classroom observation records and documents. From a preliminary analysis of them, some early ideas were developed intuitively. These were recorded in the form of field reports.

After completing the 'residence', the raw data was so massive that I needed to consider very carefully where to begin analysis? How should I analyse the data vigorously and in a 'scientific' way? Miles & Huberman's (1984) book provided essential stimulation and ideas. I decided to group the data under the initial thoughts and areas of interests stated in the field reports. These ideas, though derived intuitively, did prove to be very useful in providing essential foci to start the more in-depth analysis.

Data from various sources were grouped under the themes identified in the field reports. This process is probably the most tedious step in the whole research project. However, this procedure was necessary to establish the validity of facts and simplify the data for further analysis. After the data were classified, the task became more manageable and the researcher was enabled to make more sense of the data. The next step was to trim the material down into tables for pattern identification. Some patterns were found. In order to review the interrelationship between the patterns, flow charts and tables were drawn. This also helped to review the subtle links which were less marked in the 'grouped data' tables. The process of chart building was, of course, not a straight forward and smooth process. It involved modifications, restructuring and speculations. It was sometimes necessary to go back to the raw data to ensure that certain speculated 'relationships' in the chart did

exist. The whole process of data analysis proceeded from establishing facts, grouping data and identifying patterns and interrelationships among the themes and patterns. The last step was the abstraction of propositions from the patterns and relationships.

B. PHASE II

A number of propositions were derived from data collected through ethnographic methods in Phase I of the study. More data from a larger number of schools with different backgrounds would provide a stronger basis for developing them into a theory about curriculum implementation. Therefore, the second phase was conducted.

It would have been ideal to repeat the ethnographic data collection methods used in the case studies including in-depth interview of a high proportion of teaching staff, reviewing all the related school documents and observing moral education programmes in progress. However, time and financial constraints were major limitations. On the other hand, a questionnaire survey would be less costly in terms of resources thus a large number of schools could be studied. But the complicated nature and the potential divergence of situations among schools meant that a questionnaire survey might not be able to generate a high response and produce the required quality of data. Taking all these points into consideration, semi-structured interviews with curriculum leaders and teachers in schools seemed to be a more productive approach.

Two criteria were adopted in selecting schools. First, as the focus of the study is on the implementation process, there would not be much point in selecting schools which had rejected the curriculum change completely. Therefore, it was decided to study schools which had tried to put the curriculum change into practice.

Secondly, the schools chosen should differ in their backgrounds (for example the source of funding, religious background), the academic performance of the students and geographical location. Data collected from schools with different backgrounds and characteristics would facilitate theory development as comparisons can be made more effectively. Originally, it was planned that three teachers would be interviewed in each school. In cases where moral education was carried out by a 'specialised' team, the head of the moral education team, a team member and a non-team member would be interviewed. In schools where moral education was taught by form teachers, the teacher responsible for the moral education programme and two form teachers would be the targets. Inclusion of teachers not involved in moral education was that it was expected that they would explain why some teachers were either not interested in the curriculum change, or had rejected it, or were not involved in it. This information is closely related to the problems in the implementation process.

These criteria were carefully explained to the 'contact persons' of the sample schools who identified suitable interviewees and made the administrative arrangements for the interview

sessions. In six schools, the contact persons were the school principals while in the other two, it was the moral education curriculum leaders in the schools. These criteria were, in general, observed. However, in some schools, the number of teachers interviewed differed. In Schools L and P, the school principals strongly emphasized that moral education was developed through many channels and talking to the heads of all these channels would definitely help me understand their work. I, therefore, interviewed four teachers in these two schools. However, in School S, I only managed to speak to the head of moral education because of difficulties in persuading other teachers to take part in the interview. In other schools, three teachers from each school were interviewed. The total number of teachers interviewed in Phase II was twenty-four. In situations where quite a number of teachers were suitable potential interviewees, the 'contact person' usually selected those with a 'free period' on the day for which interviews were arranged. This was purely for administrative convenience but it brought a 'random' element into selecting interviewees.

Interviewees were asked a fairly wide range of questions related to the characteristics of the moral education programmes developed (including the aims, content, teaching methods and teaching strategies adopted), the implementation process, teachers' attitudes towards moral education and their own views on the curriculum change in moral education.

Besides conducting interviews, curriculum plans, teaching materials and other related documents were collected whenever possible for revealing a clearer picture of the curriculum developed and for triangulation purposes.

Data analysis of the Phase II study was much easier because the propositions derived from Phase I had provided clearly defined foci. The data collected were classified and analysed using a framework similar to that employed in the Phase I study.

IV. SOME METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

A. *GAINING ACCESS AND BUILDING RAPPORT*

Gaining access is a problem for every field researcher (Burgess, 1984). In this study, three levels of access were involved:

1. the *principal* controlled the entry to school, access to documents, classroom observation and the interviewing of pupils;
2. the *teachers* could refuse to be interviewed, or to be observed in their classroom. Their help and support were necessary in arranging planned interviews with the pupils;
3. the *pupils* had the right to refuse being interviewed.

In Phase I, negotiation for entry into schools was fairly smooth. The first two schools were contacted through a colleague who knew the heads very well. They generously agreed and offered much help throughout the field work. When I approached the headteacher of a school with whom I did not have

any contact, to be the third case, he politely refused. Finally, I found a school which I knew well. The Head was very supportive. This experience suggests that personal contact is crucial in gaining access into schools. I had similar experiences in Phase II. Access to six of the eight schools studied was arranged through the school principals. None of them refused. In the other two schools, I contacted the moral education curriculum leaders. In one case, the curriculum leader encountered some difficulties as he did not have the 'authority' to arrange for teachers to be interviewed.

Before starting the fieldwork, I followed the standard procedure of meeting the Head to explain the aims of the research, the target data, research techniques to be used and the ownership of data. I stressed the principle of confidentiality and anonymity. It seemed that they were not worried about this issue and accepted the risk of being identified by readers. Similar characteristics were revealed in the Phase II study. Furthermore, some school principals felt that the choice of being interviewed was a matter for the individual teachers to decide rather than the school authority.

It was not too difficult to understand that some teachers would worry that a stranger who knew the Head might report or 'leak' information unfavourable to them. No teachers were at first willing to open themselves up to a stranger. The key to getting around this obstacle was winning teachers' confidence and trust (Measor, 1985). Building up rapport and keeping down the level of disruption to teachers was essential. A number of strategies were adopted in the case studies:

1. I proceeded step by step and avoided giving an impression of aggressiveness: In the first few days, I concentrated on getting to know the school, reading the documents and making myself known to the teachers. Interviews and observations were started after a certain level of rapport had been developed.
2. I stayed in the schools for a period of time. This might promote a sense of familiarity as the teachers always saw me around. Furthermore whenever possible, I joined teachers' social functions and lunching with them.
3. Throughout the field period, I maintained an empathetic and sympathetic attitude whenever interacting with the respondents. A teacher's life is not easy and may be full of grievances. Having been a teacher for a number of years, I could speak their language and could appreciate their problems. This helped to build up trust and smooth the flow of interviews (Finch, 1984).
4. Every opportunity was taken to affirm the researcher's role as a colleague who had come to 'learn' rather than to evaluate their work.
5. Teachers were informed that they would be offered a transcript of their interviews which they could amend before it would be used. This can ease access (Measor, 1985).

The fact that only one teacher whom I approached for interview did not cooperate reflects the effectiveness of these strategies.

Due to methodological differences, some of these approaches, i.e. items 1 and 2, could not be adopted in Phase II. Limited by time available and the larger number of schools, it was not possible

for me to spend a week just for familiarizing and building rapport. In most cases, I had to be satisfied with walking into the schools at half-past eight in the morning and commencing interviewing at nine. However, this did not mean that no efforts were made to tackle this problem. Three of the above strategies, i.e. items 3, 4 and 5 were used. Of course, as shown in Chapter Eight, it must be admitted that the data collected is not of the same quality as that of the in-depth case studies.

Entry to the classroom was the most sensitive and difficult part of the access problem. In Hong Kong, most classroom observations are taken by teacher trainers, inspectors or the Head, all of which inevitably involve an element of evaluation. A phobia of being observed has developed among most teachers. I sought advice from the key informant(s) to decide the most acceptable way of approaching the teachers for access to classrooms. In the first school, the arrangement was made by the Head of Social Education. In the second and the third schools, both the headteachers and the heads of department suggested that I contacted the teachers myself. When I approached the teachers, I stressed that the observation was not for evaluation purposes so as to cut down their anxieties and the 'observer effect'. Although I failed to convince all the teachers I approached, I managed to see a range of lessons which, according to the informants, could reflect the overall picture.

Building up rapport is not easy. Ability to accomplish it is half the battle. In this process, there is a danger of being associated with or tied too strongly to a group (Wolcott, 1980). When I carried out the first case study, I encountered this problem. I was assigned by the headteacher to sit in the Social Education coordinator's room who was a very helpful and resourceful key informant to me. He invited me and some of his colleagues to lunch. After about ten days, I realised that the staff were divided into factions and some teachers saw me as a member of the 'Mr. Moral Education's camp'. It became harder for me to approach those in the opposite camp. One of them refused to be interviewed. This lesson was well learnt and in the second and third schools, I managed to avoid falling into this trap.

Theoretically, it would be ideal to get information from all the teachers in a school. In practice, I had similar experiences to Hammersley (1984), in that 'my interviews with the staff were not equally distributed or equivalent' (p.52). The data, especially those from informal dialogues, came more from the staff and pupils with whom I was better acquainted. Ball (1984) does not consider this to be a problem because one can never build up the same depth of response with a complete range of people.

Building rapport with pupils was even more difficult than with teaching staff because of age and role difference. Formal interviews were less productive, especially with junior form pupils. Many of them felt uneasy, frightened or too shy to voice their feelings, emotions and views freely. To many of them, this was their first experience of being interviewed. Repeated reassurance that the data would not be known to their teachers did not work very well. During fieldwork in School B, I was stationed in the school library which gave me considerable opportunities to contact senior

form students who had study sessions in the library. Through long periods of contact, good rapport was developed. They taught me a lot about the moral education curriculum conducted in lessons, and also their views about moral education. This type of informal interview also helped me in understanding the pupils in the two other case studies although the rapport built up was not as good as in School B.

B. VALIDITY

Two of the best safeguards on validity (Kirk & Miller, 1986) were undertaken in the case studies. Firstly, although I did not stay in the field as long as classic ethnographers do, a relatively long period was spent in the schools studied.

Secondly, as has been pointed out in Section IV.A, great care and effort were vested in building rapport. However, validity is still a concern as this study requires historical data. Extracting information from interviews concerning past events can lead to errors as the accounts are 'retrospective and selective' (Burgess, 1984). Dean & Whyte (1969) elicit this,

'The difficulties in interpreting informants' reports of subjective data are seriously increased when the informant is reporting not his present feelings or attitudes but those he recollects from the past. This is because of the widespread tendency we all have to modify a recollection of past feelings in a selective way that fits them more comfortably into our current point of view' (p.107).

Yin (1981) has also identified this problem.

Dean & Whyte (1969) suggest,

'the major way in which we can detect distortion, and correct for it, is by *comparing an informant's account with the accounts given by other informants*' (p.111).

Therefore, to broaden the source of data, attempts were made to interview those who had been closely involved in the change process but had left the schools.

In both phases of this study, questions about past events were posed to all interviewees who were involved in the change. Triangulation was also carried out through comparison of data from different interviewees and sources to ensure the validity of findings.

Respondent validation is another key concern in validity. To ease the access problem and facilitate conversation, interviews were all conducted in the respondents' first language, Cantonese (a dialect of Chinese). The taped dialogues were translated and transcribed into English. The transcripts were sent back to the respondents for verification. This, besides providing a chance for respondents to further elaborate their views or to add additional information, ascertained that the transcripts truly reflected their views. It turned out that some respondents, did query some of the points. However, the majority of them did not make any comment. It was uncertain whether they had taken the trouble to read them (many of them were more than ten pages in length) or whether the transcripts were a true reflection of their views.

C. RELIABILITY

Replicability is a major problem in case study work. 'Educational situations are rarely replicable' (Walker, 1980, p.45). Moreover, the amount and quality of data collected very often depends on the relationship between the researcher and the respondents, but interpersonal relationships among people are never the same. It is impossible for another researcher to replicate exactly what a previous researcher has done (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982).

LeCompte & Goetz (1982) and Kirk & Miller (1986) suggest that the best safeguard for external reliability is to describe procedures explicitly in the report.

A potential threat to internal reliability is the way interviews are recorded. Tape recording can certainly provide 'a more accurate rendition of any interview than any other method' (Yin, 1984, p.85). Those against using this method worry about its adverse effect on the respondents' willingness to speak and express themselves. However,

'tape-recording of interviews may be counter-productive when interviewing policy-makers about sensitive issues, but this objection might not apply to non-sensitive research' (Saran, 1985, p.224-5).

The issues in this study are in general not highly sensitive. Hence, it was anticipated that tape-recording would not greatly affect the quality of the data.

During the interviews, the interviewer had to keep the interview running smoothly, formulate probing questions and jot down non-verbal cues at the same time. This is a daunting job even for the most experienced interviewer. If they have to note down verbal records also, they may be pushed beyond their limit. Data may be polluted because of the inaccuracies in the recording. The fluency of the interview may be hampered and some of the non-verbal cues are easily missed. Because of these points, the interviews were tape-recorded.

To ensure a high quality of data, a number of measures were taken. The respondents' permission was sought before recording. They were informed that a copy of the transcript would be offered to them for validation. A very small pocket-size recorder was used to minimize the intrusiveness of the instrument.

These measures worked very well. In Phase I, no respondent objected to being tape-recorded, while in Phase II, only one respondent felt uneasy with the tape-recorder and the interview was recorded on paper by the interviewer. In terms of fluency of conversation, the experience was similar to that of Burgess, H. (1985),

'...in the taped interviews it is noticeable that once teachers had answered the initial questions and settled to the interview conversation many talked fluently...' (p.185)

Teachers, however, had reservations about tape-recording moral education sessions in the classroom. It was originally planned that classroom observations were to be tape-recorded and to be

analysed in detail at a later stage. To gain access to the classrooms, I had to give up the tape-recorder and used pen and paper instead.

D. THE RESEARCHER'S ROLE

Before starting the in-depth case studies, I planned to play the role of a non-participant observer in the field because this would provide more 'objective' information and would minimize the observer effect. Once in the field, I realised the impossibility of adopting such a role.

The headteachers and many of the staff constantly pressed me to comment on the quality of their programmes and to recommend ways of improving them despite my effort of affirming that I was not an expert and therefore could not play a consultancy role. In one instance, I was even invited to take part in a moral education programme. The problem in rejecting all these could endanger the rapport established with the teachers.

Many field researchers have experienced the same dilemma. Wolcott (1975), from his research experience, describes why he steps out of a 'detached non-participant' role,

'My tactics have customarily been to avoid an advocacy position during fieldwork but to take a position in my subsequent writing. As I have learned and practised the art and science of my craft over the years, I have also become less intimidated by its canons. If I have access to information or expertise that might help people in whom I have become professionally interested to improve their human condition, I look for ways to provide them help. If those ways seem to interfere with the purity of the research, then I take pains to report what I have done' (p.119).

In the field, my response to these pressures was to try my best to scale it down. For example, when teachers or head invited me to comment on their work, my reply was,

'I haven't seen enough to comment. Would it be better if we could discuss it after I completed my field work?'

Before I closed the cases, I did have an informal discussion with some of the teachers and the headteacher about my impressions of their programmes.

Judging from what happened in the field, I would not describe my role as a totally 'detached' observer in the case studies though the level of participation was fairly low. Goetz & LeCompte (1984) actually queried the notion of the completely 'detached' observer. They quoted Heisenberg's uncertainty principle to demonstrate the effects of measuring or observing on the observed objects. Cottee (1982) (quoted in Ball, 1984) also recognises the inevitability of having some influence on the people studied by the researcher.

E. 'CROSS-SITE' STANDARDIZED METHODS

The settings, the micro-political structure, the rapport built and interpersonal relationship between the teachers, headteachers and the pupils never turned out to be identical in all the in-depth case

studies. Strict standardization of the procedures in three different naturalistic settings is both impossible and undesirable.

However, standardization of methods (e.g. standardized questions and observations) will improve reliability but at the expense of validity (Kirk & Miller, 1986). Hence, efforts were made to use similar data collection methods in all the cases to increase the comparability of the data.

F. CONTROL OF THE USE OF DATA

'Who should control the use of data?' is an issue all researchers have to face. Walker (1980) feels that respondents,

'own the facts of their lives and should be able to control the use that is made of them in research' (p.56).

The political implications of the data has also been discussed by Finch (1984, 1985). She argues that the people observed or studied are very often 'underdogs'. Data provided by them may be used to jeopardize their role or status.

A full-scale respondent validation, such as that undertaken by Ball (1984) and Saran (1985), was to let the participants have a say in both the data and the interpretations. However, their experiences were not as successful as one might have wished. For example, criticisms were made about the 'over-negative' images that appeared in the reports. Walker (1980) warns that

'The sharing of control of data with participants does mean that the researcher often has to face the fact that some of the finest data is lost, diluted or permanently consigned to the files' (p.56).

The major concern of a researcher should be 'authenticity'. Researchers have the moral responsibility to report on exactly what they have seen and heard. To ensure that the data from interviews really represent the respondents' views and feelings, it is reasonable and advisable to ask the respondents to validate the data. Therefore, interviewees were invited to validate the interview transcripts before they were analysed. However, comments about what they have observed, results of the analysis of the interviews and documents are the researchers' *own* interpretation. The suitability and quality of them should be left for the readers to judge. This stance is taken in this study. Confidentiality is strictly observed by the researcher.

What are found from this study following the research design described above? To this, we turn to the next chapter which focuses on the characteristics of the moral education programmes developed in the schools studied.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPED AND USED IN SCHOOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the curriculum developed and used in the three schools studied. The major elements of the curriculum, including the aims, the structure, the content, teaching strategy and methods, and evaluation are reviewed and analysed. First, it is important to outline the characteristics of the schools.

A. *SCHOOL A*

School A was set up in the mid-seventies, first as a private school. It was then converted into a caput school (footnote 5.1). It finally won its subsidised status in the early eighties. The school premises and facilities fell short of the 'standard' set by the Education Department. Teaching space was far from sufficient (Head of Social Education; Mr. Hui, interview). The only open space in which pupils could play was a small basketball court. During recess time, pupils could only congregate along the corridors creating a lot of discipline problems (Head of Social Education, interview).

Emphasis on the promotion of religion was not strong despite the fact that it was run by a religious organisation. In a voluntary religious activity observed at the time of the study, only one teacher and five pupils took part (fieldnotes). Only a handful of pupils and teachers were believers.

The principal, in his forties, had been in this office for nearly ten years. He was very actively involved in public affairs and professional functions. Most teachers treated him as the 'boss' with considerable authority.

There were about forty teachers, mostly in their thirties and early forties. The staff was divided into factions. Relationships between the groups were not as cordial as one might have wished.

The quality of the intake of form one pupils was fairly poor, mostly band three to five (footnote 5.2). Generally speaking, the discipline problem was more serious than in average subsidized schools. Most of the children came from lower income families.

B. *SCHOOL B*

School B is a subsidized secondary school converted from a private school in the old urban area. With a new school name, new premises, a new principal and a large number of new teachers, it was, in essence, a new establishment.

The school, built in 1983, had standard facilities, twenty-four classrooms, and nine special rooms such as laboratories and a library. There were also two basketball courts, a covered playground and a hall. The hall was too small to accommodate all thirty classes which comprised nearly twelve hundred pupils. Because of the hard work of the janitors, a lot of plants flourished, making the physical environment fairly pleasant.

School B had a very strong religious background. It was run by an American missionary group which stressed the need to develop the pupils' spiritual life. The school was set up with the aim of enabling 'each student to realise his/her potential as a member of the human family and as a member of God's family' (document: The aims of the school). The school is a member school of an association of protestant schools committed to, and renowned for the promotion of Christianity. This testifies to its strong commitment to the promotion of religion. Furthermore, all the teachers and even some of the janitors were Christians.

The principal, a devoted Christian, was in his late thirties. He stressed the importance of staff development and strongly supported those staff who furthered their studies. He, himself, had a Masters degree in education. His relationship with the teachers was more collegial than authoritarian, reflecting a liberal and democratic leadership style. The record of the teachers' retreat camp in 1987 shows that teachers were very willing to comment frankly on school policies and to make suggestions for improvement.

The fifty teachers were very young, mostly under thirty. Even the three most senior teachers were only just over thirty. Like the pupils, most of the staff were from the lower socio-economic classes (Mr. Ma, interview). In general, the teaching staff shared a fairly homogeneous background when compared with most other secondary schools. This may partly explain the cordial relationship among the staff. The fact that no teacher had resigned to join another school and the low turnover of staff (the principal, interview) strongly suggest that the teachers were generally happy with the school administration. The principal felt that, 'we have a very good team. From a sociological point of view, they're young and they were very motivated' (fieldnotes). A newly-appointed teacher also found his colleagues helpful and cooperative (fieldnotes).

Pupils were mostly from lower socio-economic families. When the school started, the intake of form one (secondary year one) pupils was academically extremely poor. Discipline problems were also very serious. Over the years, the intake of form one pupils had improved with the reputation of the school. The principal was quite proud of this (the principal, interview).

-When the school was established in 1983, there were F.1 and F.4 classes. It was extended to F.2 and F.5 in the second year. By the third year, F.3 classes were set up. At the time of study, there were

six classes of F.1 to F.3, four classes of F.4 to F.5 and two classes of F.6 to F.7.

C. SCHOOL C

School C was run by a charity group with a large network of educational institutions including kindergartens, primary schools and secondary schools. They were under the administration of an 'academic secretary' employed by the organisation. This system maintained continuity of policy despite the fact that the Board of Directors changed every year. Each individual school enjoyed a high degree of autonomy, for example, the school principal had a very strong say in staff recruitment.

Like School B, it had 'standard' facilities of twenty-four classrooms, nine special rooms and a hall. However, with only one basketball court and a small covered playground, open space for pupils was very limited. Part of the covered playground was used by the kiosk during recess and lunch time. The school authority responded to the limitations of its physical size by planting trees and flowers to improve the environment.

There were more than 50 teaching staff, mostly around 30 years old. In recent years the turnover rate was very low. Problems of teachers becoming 'burnt-out', especially those who had been serving in this school for a number of years, had recently surfaced (the deputy head; the discipline master, interview).

The ancillary staff, e.g. technicians and janitors, were extremely helpful and well-organised. The school premises were kept in very good condition. In classroom observation, I was surprised by the high quality of the work of the technicians who managed the audio-visual facilities. I never heard any complaints about their work among the teaching staff. There may be a number of factors behind this impressive efficiency, but it seems that good administration must be one of them.

The principal was a middle-aged woman with a Masters degree. She had been in this post since the establishment of the school. In the eyes of most staff, she was capable and efficient.

In the early days of the school, the pupils' academic and disciplinary problems caused the teachers and the principal headaches. By the mid-eighties, the school had successfully built up its reputation and had become one of the most popular secondary schools in its district. In 1987, all the form one pupils were band one primary six graduates.

At the time of study, although most of the pupils came from lower income families, the parents were caring and concerned about their children's work and were always willing to help if the school

invited them to (the principal; the disciplinary master, interview).

II. AIMS

A. *THE AIMS STATED OFFICIALLY BY THE SCHOOL*

The organisation running School B aimed to develop pupils' academic, spiritual, physical and social life. Moral education was treated as part of the development of pupils' spiritual life. In an interview, the principal explained the difference between moral education and 'spiritual development'. He said,

'moral education concerns with the relationship between people. "Spiritual development" includes both interpersonal relationship, and the relationship between man and God' (interview).

The aims of spiritual development stated by the school in its First Five Year Plan were:

"All students:

Upon completion of F.3, each student will...

- ...be able to define God's plan of salvation as revealed in the Old and New Testaments,
- ...attend religious activities sponsored by school.

Upon completion of F.5, each student will ...

- ...have encountered Jesus Christ as revealed in the Gospels
- ...be able to relate Christianity to his/her everyday life.
- ...attend religious activities sponsored by the school.

Upon completion of F.7, each student will be able ...

- ...to define the rationale of Christianity.
- ...to evaluate contemporary issues from a Christian perspective,
- ...attend religious activities sponsored by the school.'

The aims of the students' social development were stated in the same document. It was hoped that pupils could,

'enjoy the friendship of peers, promote harmony in his/her family, demonstrate concern for society and respect for law and officials'

The 'social development' aspect seems clearly related to moral education but the staff and the principal seldom mentioned it when they were asked about moral education.

By contrast, the governing body of School C had not specified its aims. The principal also refused to clarify her views on the aims of the school (the principal; the Guidance Mistress, interview). When moral education was initiated, therefore, there was no reference to what the target should be. The minutes of the Guidance Committee meeting substantiate this. It was not until the discussion about establishing a moral education period, i.e. one year after the moral education programme had started, that the committee discussed and specified the aims as:

- '-develop pupils' sense of belonging to the school
- help pupils to develop their character, help them to develop healthily both physically and psychologically
- help pupils to get along well with others (classmates, friends, family members, teachers

etc.)’

(Minutes of the Guidance Committee Meeting, June, 1982)

In 1984, when the Head of Moral Education drafted the provisional syllabus, he adopted the four aims stated in the General Guidelines issued by the central agency. These were,

- ‘-developing a moral sensibility,
 - character formation and training,
 - encouraging correct attitudes for life, school and the community,
 - an appreciation of traditional virtues.’
- (Edu. Dept., 1981b, p.7)

When the moral education curriculum change was initiated in School A, there were also no stated aims (the vice-principal; Mr. Wan, interview). A formal statement about the goals of moral education first appeared in 1984 in the ‘Social Education Teachers’ Handbook’ drafted by the Head of Social Education,

- ‘1. Improve teacher-pupil relationship,
2. Improve relationship among classmates,
3. Deepen students’ understanding of the school, instill in students a sense of belonging to the school,
4. Help students to develop good character,
5. Help students to develop their self-confidence,
6. Help students to find out their strengths and good qualities,
7. Help students to develop self-discipline,
8. Help students to develop their leadership skills,
9. Encourage students to discuss problems such as psychology, public conscientiousness, aim of studying etc.,
10. Develop students’ sense of responsibility, self reliance in study and co-operation,
11. Help students to know more about Hong Kong’s social structure, political system, social resources, so as to broaden their perspectives and sharpen their judgement,
12. Develop students’ thinking, analytical and evaluative ability,
13. Help students to understand concepts such as culture, sub-culture and cultural change,
14. Help students to know civil rights and responsibilities,
15. Help students to acquire a general knowledge of the working world before starting their career,
16. Help students to put these concepts into action.’

B. CLARITY OF THE AIMS

Teachers in School B understood that the school authority wished to inculcate Christian ethics and values. Most teachers of Schools A and C were not clear what the school authority wanted to achieve. For example, in School A, Mr. Chu and Miss Choi, two of the Social Education teachers did not have any knowledge of the aims stated in the ‘Social Education Teachers’ Handbook’. Miss Ngau, a former Social Education teacher and a close colleague of the Head of Social Education said, ‘I don’t think the school authority has a clear set of aims. I don’t know what the school authority is aiming at.’ (Miss Ngau, interview).

Similar phenomena can be identified in School C. One Moral Education teacher, Miss Butt, openly admitted her ignorance of the aims of the school authority in carrying out moral education. To her, Moral Education was just a means to know the pupils better.

Besides not having much knowledge about the aims set by the school authority, most teachers in

all the schools studied were not sure what they themselves wanted to achieve. When teachers were asked the question 'What do you want to achieve in teaching moral education?', their reaction showed, more often than not, bewilderment. Some admitted that they did not have a clear idea of what goals were in their minds. In one case, only after two probing questions and a reassurance that there was not a definite, right answer did the teacher, with great difficulty, utter a few words about her aims. Moreover, the aims stated by the teachers were mostly brief and vague. The following are some examples:

'When I first started teaching, I thought that it was not just the passing of knowledge to the pupils. I wanted to do something (more than the passing of knowledge). I hoped I could stimulate the pupils to think about questions relevant to their life' (Miss Che, School C, interview).

'The pupils are from public housing estates. Besides passing on knowledge from textbook, (we) should let them know more about their daily life' (Miss Lui, School C, interview).

Mr. Hui, a moral education teacher in School A, felt that the purpose of teaching morality was to arouse pupils' awareness of social issues and enable them to gain more knowledge on the issues included in the Social Education syllabus. Miss Choi, another Social Education teacher in School A, stressed the importance of helping 'students to grasp what they should know about life and interpersonal relationships' (interview).

These findings clearly indicate that most of the teachers studied had not mapped out what their aims were in teaching moral education.

C. HOW FAR WAS THERE A CONSENSUS ?

The teachers of School B agreed, in principle, with the aims set by the school authority. The following view is typical,

'the basic motivation we have is to inculcate Christian values to them (the pupils)... I don't feel that there is any values conflict (among teachers).' (Mr. Ma, interview)

The senior teachers of School B, for instance, the Head of Discipline, the Guidance Mistress and the Dean of Religious Affairs, all pointed out and were proud of the similarity in the teachers' views and the unity of their efforts. No wonder the principal proclaimed in the School Report for two consecutive years (1985-87) that:

'Surely, unity and cooperation are important elements which bring us together for realizing our school objectives.' (85-86 School Report, p.1)

'Surely, unity and acceptance have always been crucial elements which bring us together for realizing our school objectives.' (86-87 School Report, p.1)

In School C, the Guidance Committee members, responsible for moral education work, were practically unanimous in their views. They wanted to develop moral education to deal with pupils' problems (Miss Lui; Miss Che; Head of Moral Education, interview). This was very much in line with the aims set by the Guidance Committee in 1982. But discernible differences with other teachers were evident. An incident recorded in my fieldnotes can illustrate this,

'in the staff room, the Guidance Mistress says that socialisation is the key to moral

education because it is the key to harmonious relationship. Mr. Wan, the Head of Chinese language, argues strongly that socialisation might limit pupils' creativity and it is in itself immoral.'

The differences between teachers' views were even more obvious in School A. Miss Kuo, the school social worker, identified two camps of teachers which could be labelled as the 'liberals' and the 'conservatives'. The conflict between them was very intense (Miss Kuo, interview). The 'liberals' argued for and actively took part in developing moral education programmes while the 'conservatives' did not see the importance of developing moral education (the vice-principal, interview). A school social worker who had served in School A shared this view.

D. TACKLING PUPILS' PROBLEMS: THE AIMS OF THE MORAL EDUCATION TEACHERS

Although many teachers could only vaguely voice what their aims were, from the interviews with the teachers and the criteria adopted in content selection, it can be seen that they hoped their work would ease pupils' problems. Miss Lui of School C is a case in point. The criteria she used in selecting the content of the moral education subject was,

'... very much problem-shooting. The example of adding in the topic of dating in the form one curriculum illustrates this' (interview).

This view was common among the teachers in all three schools. In School B, where the inculcation of Christian ethics and values was regarded as the main aim of moral education, teachers admitted that moral education was used for tackling pupils' problems. To Miss Tai, a form teacher, the purpose of form period (one of the major means of moral teaching) was to 'shoot' students' problems. The Head of Religious Affairs also argued that pupils, having developed Christian values, would have some guiding principles to lead their lives rather than having to follow highly versatile 'societal values' shaped very much by the mass culture. The criteria adopted by teachers of School B in selecting the content of the programmes confirms this. For example, in 1987-88, 'dating' was seen as a very serious problem, especially amongst form four pupils among whom there was a lot dating after school. Therefore much teaching time was allowed for handling this issue in the form period programme (Mr. Ma; Miss Chau, interview).

Nevertheless, a look at the content of the curriculum indicates that there is a high degree of consensus on what teachers regard as 'pupils' problems. Things like dating and love, why pupils should obey rules, how to counteract the influence of mass culture, and avoiding drug abuse, were all included in the curriculum. Having said that, it should be clarified that teachers' perception of pupils' problems were not identical. Some teachers, who were more socially aware, considered the 1997 question and developing patriotic feeling as key issues in moral education while others did not.

E. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Lack of consensus among users is a common problem in curriculum development. Studies of

curriculum change, such as Dalton's study of Geography for the Young School Leaver (1988), have indicated this. Indeed, education is itself characterised by diverse and ill-defined goals (Hartnett & Naish, 1976; Nespor, 1987). And moral education in turn is still waiting for a commonly accepted definition of its field, aims and teaching methodology (Chapter Three has a more detailed discussion of this). As a result, it is not surprising to find that teachers in schools A and C did not hold similar views on the nature of moral education.

Unfortunately for the developers and implementers, great rifts between the goals of the users in a school can create many implementation problems. Teachers with sharply different views and conceptions, are less likely to cooperate. This will, in turn, hinder the implementation process, especially of a school-wide curriculum change. It has been suggested that this problem can be eased by open and intensive discussion among the users (see for example, Dalton, 1988). However, in none of the three schools, had there been any frank exchange of views.

Straughan (1984) has argued,

‘the effective formulation of educational objectives requires prior investigation of the nature and peculiar characteristics of whatever is intended to be learnt— and philosophy has a crucial part to play here’ (p.196).

But no teachers have tried to do it. In School A, the proportion of books on the philosophy of moral education in the reference collection for moral education teachers was less than 5%. In School B, there was not a single book on the philosophy of moral education.

Indeed, individual teachers had not thought clearly about their own ideas of moral education (see Section II.B), and thus were hardly ready to enter into discussion with their colleagues. Clark & Yinger (1987), based on Taylor, 1970, Clark & Elmore, 1981, Zahorik, 1975, Peterson et al., 1978, Morine-Dersheimer & Vallance, 1976, report that aims and objectives have a very low priority in teachers' planning. Teachers are more concerned about the methodology and the content of the curriculum (Storm, 1979; Wakeman, 1984). This is something to do with the culture of teachers (this is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven). Teachers, facing practical problems (as defined by Gauthier, 1963; Hartnett & Naish, 1976; Reid, 1983), and hard pressed by lack of time, are found to be more concerned with how to get teaching and learning going in the classroom rather than with why they should choose a particular topic.

School B is a special case. The consensus found among the teachers and between the school authority and the teachers had not been hammered out by intensive interaction and negotiation between the school authority and the teachers, or among the teachers themselves. Instead, it was the outcome of the recruitment policy of the school, i.e. only devout Christians were employed. This virtually ensured that teachers had similar goals. Furthermore, the similarity in socio-economic background (Mr. Ma, interview) and in experience (most of the teachers were very young), further ‘purified’ their outlook. With such a team, it is not unreasonable to expect that the moral education programme of the school would be carried out more smoothly than in the other two schools. (This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter).

III. THE STRUCTURE AND THE CONTENT OF THE CURRICULUM

A. DEFYING THE INTEGRATED APPROACH

The central agency, in its official paper, the General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools, advocates an integrated approach, i.e. that moral education should be taught through all the subjects in the curriculum, rather than set up as an independent subject. None of the schools studied followed this recommendation. The table below sums up what teachers of various subjects had done (or rather had not done).

Table 5.1 Users' attempts to teach about values in their subjects

SUBJECT	POSITION	ATTEMPT TO TEACH ABOUT VALUES	SUBJECT PANEL EFFORT
<u>SCHOOL A:</u>			
English	T	no	the principal had once showed an example of another school, no follow-up
Hist.	HoD	no	no discussion
Biology	HoD	no	NA
Physics	HoD	no	NA
Maths	T	no	very preliminary discussion
<u>SCHOOL B:</u>			
English	HoD	used teaching materials on social issues for comprehension exercise	no
English	T	no	no
Chinese	HoD	no systematic effort	no
Chinese	T	NA	no coordinated effort
Chi. Hist.	HoD	yes	yes, coordinated effort, lesson plans must list the values to be taught
Chi. Hist.	T	yes	yes
Geog.	HoD	seldom	no
Maths/Phy.	T	no	NA
<u>SCHOOL C:</u>			
Chinese	HoD	sporadic	no systematic effort
Chinese	T	yes	no
Chinese	T	NA	some passages selected for comprehension exercise because they were value-laden
Chi. Hist.	T	junior form: sporadic senior form: no	no discussion
Geog.	T	no	NA
Account	HoD	sporadic	no
Maths	HoD	sporadic	had discussed it
Biology	T	sporadic	had discussed it but no coordinated effort

Key: T —teacher
HoD —Head of Department
NA —data not available

Only one of the subject panels in all the three schools had made any coordinated, planned effort to 'teach about' values through their subjects. At the individual teacher level, work on this area was, at best, sporadic and haphazard. Data from the pupils' interviews has substantiated the virtual absence of this activity in subject teaching.

As has been reported in Chapter Two, the curriculum development system in Hong Kong has been very effective in ensuring that schools adopt the curriculum developed or recommended. Whether, however, curricula are fully implemented is another matter.

Why did the teachers and schools reject the recommendation of the central agency? To answer this question, one has to go back to the reason why teachers usually adopt the curricula recommended. As was made clear in Chapter Two, public examination is a major force which ensures that school and teachers follow the recommended syllabus. However, questions on values seldom appear in public examinations (see for example, Lam, 1984). As a result, the powerful whip of the examination machinery is not applied.

Furthermore, the Inspectorate, although it promulgated the integrated approach, stated in the official document and on various public occasions (e.g. Professional Teachers' Union News, 1983) that schools could decide how to carry out moral education. The experience of the three schools studied shows that inspectors did not question why this approach was not adopted (the vice-principal, School A; Heads of Moral Education, Schools B and C, interview). The soft stance and low profile adopted by the Inspectorate were likely to make schools and teachers feel that they could defy the recommendation.

One may argue that the lack of pressure from the central agency does not necessarily mean that teachers will not follow the suggestions made. Therefore, there may be some other forces working against the adoption of the integrated approach. The divergent demands which teachers face in their work forms one such force. In Hong Kong, where success in public examinations is of prime importance in the pupils' access to further education and a career, helping their students to cover the syllabus and to get through the public examinations is a key concern of teachers (Llewellyn et al., 1982). This demand was considered by the teachers to be in conflict with the demand that they should spend precious teaching time on moral education. Mr. Kwong, a geography teacher and a member of the civic education committee in School C, was a typical example. He said,

'I don't like it (the integrated approach). I feel that it's not good. There are some guidelines in every subject on how to do it (teach values through subject teaching). But in reality, the curriculum is very jammed already. And it (this approach) is only a suggestion for teachers. When the amount of teaching time is too tight and teachers have to rush through the curriculum, who will do it? (Furthermore) I doubt its effectiveness. How can we test how much pupils have learnt (in values).... ?

(I) Haven't done it (teach moral education through geography) at all. Usually when we come to talk about environment, pollution, (we) elaborate on them and tell pupils not to throw rubbish, create noise and so on. Besides (these topics), there are very few topics in geography which are related to civic education' (interview).

School administrators were aware of the feeling of the teachers.

'Subject teachers, especially those teaching subjects included in public examination, will not accept the idea of spending teaching time on moral education in their subjects' (the principal, School A, interview).

If control by examination is relinquished, the best hope of encouraging teachers to carry out moral education is by 're-educative' means. Some teachers were influenced by their training and tried to carry out curriculum changes. For example, Mr. Wai, a Chinese History teacher, was strongly influenced by what he had learnt in his PGCE course and started a concerted effort on values teaching in his department. But his case is a rare exception indeed. Most teachers have not received intensive and supportive training on this issue. Staff development organised both inside and outside school was far from sufficient in both quantity and quality. For details of the staff development outside school, see Chapter Two; that inside school is described in Chapter Six.

The school administrators did not reject the integrated approach in principle, but criticised it for not being practical. This criticism was based on their experience. Schools A and C had both met indifference and strong objections from the teachers when form teachers were asked to teach ethics in form periods. Coordinating their efforts was a daunting experience. (This is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.) Adopting the integrated approach would unavoidably invite even graver problems of coordination and supervision. It is not surprising that the principal of School A made this comment,

'It's not possible to control... Coordination is a very serious problem. Adopting the integrated approach will require the cooperation and fitting in of all the subjects. Even the vice-principal will find it extremely difficult to do this. The subject panel chairman (i.e. HoD) responsible for only one subject has found it hard enough to coordinate the teachers (of his/her subject). If someone has to coordinate all the teachers in the school, it will be extremely difficult. A full time coordinator *may* be able to do it.' (interview) (my italics)

In School C, in 1984, the Guidance Mistress, after being persuaded by a colleague, tried to involve other subjects in organising a mass programme. This attempt was a mini-scale integrated programme, but serious difficulties in coordination surfaced. She felt that as teachers of other subjects took part out of goodwill, she could not press for high quality work and cooperation when the work was carried out.

School B, despite having the valuable asset of a united team with similar outlook and goals, also met strong opposition in implementing the integrated approach in Christian teaching. The organiser, the Head of Academic Affairs, described the innovation:

'We asked the panel chairmen (i.e. HoDs) to write lesson plans to teach this (Christian teaching). We asked Biology, English and Geography to do it. The response of the teachers was that they didn't want to do it. We persuaded them to try. Most teachers thought that it's a very labourious job, not effective and unworkable. But we did ask teachers to try it. Some teachers did. We also found some problems. It's not possible to do this in all topics. If we tried to do it in all topics, we would not have time to teach (the subject content) any more. (Laugh) Furthermore, at that time, the academic ability of the pupils was very low. Teachers had to cover both the syllabus content and the

religious at the same time. So both tasks were not done well. At the end, we abandoned it. Though we have drafted some lesson plans for this, we hadn't promoted them. This experience tells us that if we followed the E.D.'s recommendation (i.e. the integrated approach), the result would be more or less the same.' (interview)

This failure indicates that even teachers who were in favour of developing a moral education programme could not tolerate interruption of their subject teaching. When there is a conflict between 'academic' and 'moral' work, the 'academic' side usually outweighs the other (the principals, schools B and C, interview).

B. THE CONTENT OF THE CURRICULUM

The schools developed moral education through creating new curriculum subject(s). The major forms of moral education developed by the schools are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Means of moral education developed
School A

Social Education				
F.1-3	two 40-min sessions per six-day cycle			
F.4-7	one 40-min session per six-day cycle			
School B				
	Christian Ethics	Form period	Assembly	Morning Devotion
F.1-3	three 40-min sessions in a six-day cycle	No	one 70-min session in alternate six-day cycle	every school day except Monday
F.4-7	two 40-minute sessions in a six-day cycle	70-min session in alternate six-day cycle	No	same as above
School C				
	Moral Education (Life Education)	Mass programmes	Voluntary Services	
F.1 -3	one 40-min. session per week	a set of activities including hall assembly, exhibition, competition	pupils join voluntary service	
F.4-7	No	same as above	same as above	

The subject created specially for moral education was given different names in each school. When moral education was first introduced into School A, it was called Ethics which was changed to Social Education in 1984. Similarly, in School C, the subject 'Moral Education' was renamed 'Life Education' in 1986 but as most teachers and pupils still use the term Moral Education I shall too.

This section offers a brief description of the moral education programme of each school.

1. SCHOOL A

Social Education was the major means of moral education in School A. There were two lessons in each six-day cycle for forms one to three, while in senior forms, there was only one lesson in each cycle.

In contrast to School B, there was no attempt to teach morality through religious studies, which focussed on the learning of religious knowledge and principles (the vice-principal; Head of Social Education, interview).

The counselling service was run by the Head of Counselling (who was also the Head of Social Education) and a part-time school social worker. Although it could be seen as touching upon the moral development of the pupils, this was basically a remedial service for pupils with serious problems. Unlike Social Education, no systematic programme was organised by the Counselling team for pupils.

2. SCHOOL B

Moral education was taught through Christian Ethics, form periods, assembly, morning devotion and 'mass programme'.

i. CHRISTIAN ETHICS

This was the major component of the moral education programme in the formal curriculum. The details of the curriculum content is included in Appendix II.

Christian Ethics in forms one and two was divided into two parts, namely biblical knowledge and moral education. The former comprised biblical stories from the Old and New Testaments. However, attempts were made to relate them to the daily life of the pupils. The following are two examples from the form one curriculum. The lesson plan showed that after telling the story of David and Goliath, the teacher would deal with the 'application to daily life' centred around two questions:

- '1. Now, Israel is surrounded by Arab countries. The situation is very much the same as at the time of the story. However, Israel can still stand it. Do you think that this success can be achieved just by man's effort?
2. When we face some great difficulties or when we can't overcome some personal weaknesses. What should we do?'

The second example concerned the Ten Commandments. After teaching the origin and content of the Ten Commandments, in the 'application to daily life' part, the teacher would raise the following questions with the pupils,

'Which of the Commandments have you broken?

Do you love your teachers, friends and parents?

What do you think the responsibilities of a good class monitor (leader) are to the classmates?'

The 'moral education' part was centred around the problems which pupils faced, such as dating and how to get along with friends. From form three onwards, the proportion of hard facts of biblical knowledge in Christian Ethics was much less. Replacing them were topics on social issues and problems which pupils faced in their daily life. However, this did not mean that Christian teaching was excluded. The curriculum documents and findings from classroom observation reveal that Christian views and values related to the issues and problems were introduced and discussed in great detail in teaching.

The topic on 'Dr. Sun Yat-sen' (in the form four Christian Ethics curriculum) illustrates this clearly. One of the major aims stated in the lesson plan was to let pupils know that Dr. Sun was a Christian. A question raised in the worksheet was 'what type of funeral ceremony did Dr. Sun hope to hold?' The answer was the 'Christian' type.

Some teachers, for example Mr. Wai, claimed that besides inculcating Christian ethics, it was important to impart traditional Confucian values and western concepts of freedom and democracy to the pupils.

In the junior forms, C.E. was taught by the form teachers while in senior forms it was taken by a team of specialist teachers.

ii. FORM PERIOD

The form teachers made a coordinated effort to design a common curriculum for forms four and five. The 1987-88 syllabus is listed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 1987-88 Form Period topics of School B

1987-1988 Form Period Topics

Form Four:

1. Study skills (teach pupils how to improve their study skill)
2. Gospel Fortnight: Witness Meeting (a gospel meeting in which converted Christians would tell others their experience)
3. Inter-class Debate Competition
4. Dating (I)
5. Dating (II)
6. Song Medley (listen to pupils' favourite pop songs and comments on the meanings of the lyrics)
7. Current Affairs and General Knowledge Quiz
8. Inter-class Drama Competition
9. Class Business (for form teachers to handle class business)

Form Five:

1. Discuss school picnic and farewell to classmates going to emigrate
 2. Gospel sharing
 3. Preparation for Chinese Debate Competition
 4. Witness Meeting (through music)
 5. Preparation for inter-class singing competition
 6. Class Business
 7. How to cope with examination 'pressure' (preparation for public examinations)
 8. Farewell
-

Apart from the sessions on class affairs and business, the topics chosen for form periods were mostly concerned with 'problems' which teachers thought that pupils were facing or were expected to encounter in the future.

In forms six and seven, form teachers could do whatever they liked in the form period, and what they did was not recorded. A group of form six girls said that their form teacher just asked some of their classmates to talk about what they wanted during form period (fieldnotes).

iii. ASSEMBLY

The themes of the assemblies were drafted by the Student Affairs Committee subject to modifications by the Council of the school whose membership included the principal, senior teachers and the heads of the major committees. A range of themes was chosen each year.

Observations of the sessions and discussions with the teachers suggested that the assembly served a number of purposes. Firstly, it enriched school life. Activities like competitions, talent shows and Christmas celebration belonged to this category. Some teachers in the school pointed out that the reasons for organising some of the competitions were to promote certain values. For example, by organising a Chinese calligraphy competition, they hoped that pupils would develop positive attitudes towards the aesthetic values of Chinese culture. Secondly, some current social and personal issues were included, e.g. shoplifting, drug abuse and smoking, so that pupils would have a chance to gain some understanding of their causes, effects and so on. Activities of this type were related more closely to moral education.

iv. MORNING DEVOTION

Morning devotion was the first function in the morning. Pupils lined up in the covered playground and the teachers took turns to be speakers. The sessions on Fridays were taken by the principal. This function was called morning devotion rather than morning assembly because it was a time for preaching and spreading the gospel (the Head of Academic Affairs, interview). The principal instructed the teachers that they could talk about any topic provided at least one religious element, namely a prayer, a hymn, a paragraph or verse from the Bible, was included.

Some sessions were devoted purely to preaching. But, as the principal pointed out, some morning devotion sessions were related to moral education (fieldnotes). Many speakers talked about their personal experiences and suggested what pupils *should do*. For instance, in a session, 'The teacher talks about weather. She says that spring has come and flowers are blooming. The weather becomes warm again. She tells pupils to get up earlier and walk slowly to enjoy the scenery of spring (on the way to school). She also advises the pupils to plan properly for this year. It is better to plan properly ahead than to have regrets at the end of the year. Then she leads the pupils to sing a hymn praising God for the beauties of nature' (fieldnotes).

The content chosen by the speakers was not restricted to religious matters. A geography teacher, Miss Chau, used the time, 'to talk about broader issues, let pupils think more about *global issues*' (interview).

In morning devotion sessions, after the speakers finished their talks, the discipline master usually instructed the pupils about proper behaviour suggesting that pupils should keep the school premises clean, classmates should cooperate in conducting Christmas classroom decoration.

v. OTHERS

As well as using the formal curriculum, teachers also tried to develop moral education via less regular means. One of the most obvious was through the mass programmes organised by the Civic Education Committee and the Counselling Committee. Each year a different theme was selected. Activities like exhibitions and competitions were organised to draw pupils' attention to the themes, to improve their understanding of them and to develop values related to the themes.

Another means adopted was the use of board and poster displays. At the corners of the corridors and stairs were posters. Most were proverbs and statements like, 'The sweetest grapes hang on the highest (branch)', 'Denying your mistake once means one more mistake committed'.

There were also some on religious matters e.g. 'Faith is to believe what you've not seen'.

As well as these permanent ones, there were some temporary ones. During my stay in the school, a campaign on 'Keep the School Clean' was held. Posters such as:

‘Please keep the table and floor clean’,
‘We all have the duty to keep the whole school clean’,
were put up in the covered playground.

The school also used notice boards to inform pupils about what they should do. For example, the board allocated to the school social worker was used to list and describe what some of the popular soccer stars, pop singers and movie stars thought about the importance of diligence and pursuit of success.

3. SCHOOL C

The major means of moral education were ‘mass programme’ and Moral Education as a separate teaching subject.

i. MASS PROGRAMME

The mass programme includes a range of activities such as exhibitions, talks, visits and competitions organised around individual themes. Each year, three or four themes were selected and a set of activities organised around each.

As recorded in the Guidance Committee schedule of work, the following themes were selected, in the academic year 1986-87:

- ‘1. The psychological and physiological development in adolescence (purpose: make pupils accept the psychological and physiological changes in adolescence and develop correct attitudes towards sex)
2. Diligence month (purpose: let pupils know the purposes and advantages of studying hard, develop good study skills and habits)
3. Japan (purpose: let pupils know why Japan is so successful)
4. Changing Hong Kong (purpose: let pupils understand the nature of social changes in Hong Kong)’

For senior forms, the mass programme was the only major means of moral education as they did not have Moral Education as a curriculum subject.

The mass programmes were planned and organised by the Guidance Committee. From 1987 onwards, some of the activities were jointly run with the Civic Education Committee.

ii. MORAL EDUCATION

This independent curriculum subject was offered to forms one to three only. It occupied one 40-minute period per week. The content of the curriculum for 1987-88 is attached in Appendix II.

iii. VOLUNTARY SERVICE

From 1986 onwards, the Guidance Committee organised a number of what they called voluntary services each year as extra-curricular activities. Those organised in 1986-7 were:

1. A visit to a school for mentally retarded children (visit, and conduct a performance for the children);
2. A visit to a nursery (organise a Christmas party and play games with the children);
3. A visit to a home for the aged (visit and organise a social gathering, and perform for the aged).

This type of service was treated by the Head of the Guidance Committee as part of the moral education programme, because, through participation, pupils could learn more about other groups in society and by helping the unfortunate, it was postulated that they would be stimulated to realise how lucky they were (interview). The other teacher supervising this type of function had similar feelings. She said,

'I think the real contribution (of our voluntary service) to the society is not really great. How much can we accomplish (with such limited resources)? But I think to the pupils, it's a service (to the community) and also they have a chance to meet different types of people. It will also train up their organisational skills as they have to manage some unexpected events encountered in planning and running the activities. I think that if they contact more people in need, they'll be more sympathetic to others (laugh)' (Miss Butt, interview).

Follow-up discussions were usually conducted after these activities for the pupils to exchange their experiences and feelings (the Guidance Mistress, interview).

The number of pupils involved in these 'action learning' activities was limited. In 1987-88, only thirty pupils had the chance to get involved although a much larger number of pupils wanted to participate (the Guidance Mistress; Miss Butt, interview).

C. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In each school, the content and the structure of the curriculum adopted were congruent with the aims set. School B (described in Section II.A), stressed the inculcation of Christian values and tried to develop pupils' morality through religious activities such as religious studies (i.e. Christian Ethics) and morning devotion. This close link between religious teaching and moral education was not evident in the other two schools. School A, also run by a religious body, did not link religion with moral education. The subject of Religious Studies was completely separate from Social Education, the core of the moral education programme in School A.

In schools A and C, moral education set out to tackle pupils' problems. In School B, teachers also saw moral education as a means by which to tackle pupils' problems. The content of moral education programmes selected suggests that in the eyes of the teachers, pupils' problems were very much limited to 'adolescence problems' (such as smoking), school life (e.g. obeying school rules, how to spend one's leisure time), interpersonal relationships (e.g. friendship, dating) and family life (e.g. the generation gap). The following extract shows the pupils' problems identified by the Guidance Committee teachers in School C.

'The general problems of the pupils in this school:

- lack of social ethics: the school premises are very dirty, damage public property;
- lack of self-discipline,....; very noisy during the interval of lessons, bad discipline when going to the special rooms;
- do not love the school, lack of sense of belonging;
- greedy: do not attempt to conserve resources;
- extravagant e.g. waste a lot of materials supplied by the school in art lessons;
- like expensive brandnames;

- monotonous in leisure activity: spend much time watching TV.' (Minutes of the Guidance Committee Meeting, June, 1981, p.1)

In the same meeting, it was also pointed out that many form one pupils could not adapt to secondary school life. These concerns were reflected in the moral education curriculum (1982-3) of School C. The curriculum designed in School A in 1980-81 reveals similar phenomena.

Table 5.4 The content of the Moral Education programme of School A, 1980-81

F.2 Moral Education programme

SELF

- understanding oneself
- diet (the importance of a balanced diet)
- what is sportsmanship?
- courtesy (the importance of courtesy)

CAREER

- the pros and cons of part time job (Should students take part-time jobs?)

FAMILY LIFE

- the generation gap problem

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

- relationships between friends
- friendship (What is the real meaning of friendship?)
- cooperation (the importance of co-operation)

SCHOOL LIFE

- rules and regulations (the function of school rules)
- forming a class association
- extra-curricular activities (the functions of extra-curricular activities)
- group discussion on study (acquiring study skills)
- aims of studying
- class affairs discussion (a session for form teachers to handle class business)
- instructions to pupils about the school picnic
- summer holiday activities (how pupils should spend their summer holiday?)

COMMUNITY LIFE

- An introduction of the Hong Kong Council of Social Services (informing the pupils of the existence of this organisation and its work)

SEX EDUCATION

- hygiene for girls (proper hygiene practices during menstruation)

OTHERS

- Chinese calligraphy competition
 - first aid (introduce basic first aid knowledge)
 - handicraft competition
 - cross word puzzle competition
 - number game (a competition)
-

A comparison of the above curriculum with the one in 1986-87 (see Appendix II), reveals a general shift towards a greater emphasis on civic education and sex education. A similar trend is evident in schools B and C.

This shift can be attributed to the recent socio-political changes and the policy of the central agency. Being a colony, schools in Hong Kong were not encouraged to develop civic and political education until the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984 which marked the beginning of the transition period towards the return of sovereignty to China in 1997 (Tang & Morris, 1989). This development in the political arena resulted in a strong demand for civic education to prepare citizens for the new era. As a result, the Education Department issued the General Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools in 1985 which announced official support for developing this area.

The demand for sex education started in the early seventies and intensified in the early eighties. The Education Department finally admitted that there was a demand for sex education and in 1986 it published the General Guidelines on Sex Education in Secondary Schools.

The strong demand from the public for these areas and the assertion of their importance by the central agency have encouraged schools and teachers to devote more effort and time to them. However, the effect of teachers' personal interests on content selection should not be underestimated. In developing moral education, teachers had an almost completely free hand in designing the curriculum as both the central agency and the school authorities had relinquished their control over the content to be taught. Similar to Weindling & Earley's (1986) finding, the principals did not play the role of instructional leaders. Instead, they left their staff to make their own judgements in designing the content. For example, in School A, the principal was only present once in the subject meeting on moral education. The principal of School B had not been involved in the designing of the curriculum except attending meetings about the form six curriculum at the early planning stage. The principal of School C had never taken part in the work of the moral education committee. Teachers of all the three schools felt that they were given a free hand to decide what they taught (Head of Social Education, School A; Head of Religious Studies, School B; Head of Moral Education, School C, interview). Because of the high level of freedom they enjoyed, teachers' interests and outlook could strongly influence the content of the curriculum. For example, in School C, the head of department was very interested in teaching sex education whereas other teachers were not (Head of Moral Education, interview). In 1987-88, a 'flexible' curriculum was designed in which there were some periods without set topics so that teachers could choose what they wanted to teach. The HoD used most of this time for sex education. In School A, Miss Ngau, who was jointly responsible for the form three social education curriculum in 1984-5, was a staunch advocate of civic education. She admitted, 'I like to teach about social transformation and nationalistic education' (interview). Her HoD described her as, 'putting a lot of emphasis on teaching social issues'. In that year, there was a marked emphasis on civic education.

Table 5.5 The content of the form three moral education curriculum of School C, 1984-85

F.3 Moral education programme

SELF	art appreciation appreciation of nature how to deal with emotional problems rights and responsibilities understand oneself
CAREER	career counselling
FAMILY LIFE	(nil)
INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	communication and perception (the relationship between perception and communication) life in a group (how to get along with others in a group)
SCHOOL LIFE	understanding each other attitudes towards studying and examinations student union (the functions of student union)
COMMUNITY LIFE	capital punishment (should capital punishment be introduced?) racial problems environmental pollution hunger (famine in the world) alcohol and smoking government, citizen (the relationship between a citizen and the government) election (what are the functions of election?)
SEX EDUCATION	sex

Among the twenty topics included, seven were in one way or another related to social issues. This proportion was very high when compared with other curricula used in this school.

There were no formal channels whatsoever through which pupils could influence the curriculum. However, this did not necessarily mean that pupils did not have any impact on what was taught. Even though teachers were vested with the whole responsibility for developing the programme and were granted a very high degree of freedom, there was solid evidence that pupils influenced the curriculum content in all the schools studied. Pupils' reactions and behaviour in the classroom were important sources of feedback for teachers. Pupils' views might also be reflected to teachers through informal channels like casual chats, especially in cases where the teacher-pupil relationship was less 'traditional'. In School B, for instance, Christian Ethics was originally purely biblical knowledge which was very dry for the pupils (Head of Religious Studies, interview). In 1984, the 'life approach' was adopted because teachers lamented that pupils, especially those in senior forms, rejected Christian Ethics. Since then, more moral education elements were included in the Christian Ethics curriculum. In School A, although the Head of Social Education was very interested in social issues, he had to trim down this proportion in 1985-86 following feedback from pupils showing less support (interview). The following table shows this clearly.

Table 5.6 Topics related to community life in the moral education programme

84-85	85-86
capital punishment racial problem environmental pollution hunger alcohol and smoking government and citizen election	concern for social problems the rights of consumers

This finding contrasts sharply with that of Dreyfus et al. (1984). They write, 'The pupils were clearly expected to be involved only in decisions closely related to their own activities and not in any decisions about the contents of studies and methods of study' (p.45).

The Dreyfus et al. (1984) findings may be true with regard to influences through formal channels. Kirst & Walker (1971) also state, 'students have no influence in any formal sense over what they learn' (p.503). Clarke (1984) reported that personal and social education teachers in his school did not want to establish formal channels to collect pupils' views. But, as in the present study, Clarke (1984) found that teachers were concerned about pupils' opinions. Teachers took into consideration pupils' reactions and responses when they planned the curriculum. Similar to what MacDonald & Leithwood (1982) have discovered in their study, it is found that students' interests and progress are major criteria in teachers' curricular decision-making.

The moral education programmes designed and used in the schools studied all suffered from the problem of not having a coherent structure. A curriculum with a coherent structure should have a clear theoretical framework, strong linkage between the topics and progression between the different forms. The case of School C illustrates this problem very well. There is no mention of the theoretical framework in the curriculum document. From the curricula, we can see that the linkage between the topics was very weak, making it very much a 'piecemeal' programme. It seems that the curriculum was just a mosaic of topics which teachers thought pupils should learn or know more about.

A well-structured curriculum should 'progress' from lower forms to upper forms. Moral education programmes should take into consideration children's moral developmental stages (Smith, 1982). Surprisingly, the curricula set for forms one to three in School C in 1982 were very much the same. The form three programme was 'the form two curriculum plus career counselling' (Minutes of the Guidance Committee Meeting, School C, June, 1982) and the same set of teaching materials was used. Similar phenomena were also identified in the other two cases studied.

IV. TEACHING STRATEGY

The following abstract is a lesson plan of a Moral Education lesson in School C.

'Lesson Plan: Foul Language

Aims: Let pupils understand the disadvantages of using foul language and instruct pupils not to use them.

Preparation:

- Groups of five or six. Each group shall interview a teacher and their classmates. A number of questions have been set as guidelines for them.

Introduction: (5 to 10 minutes)

- Each group present their findings to reveal how most people perceive the use of foul language.

Development: Pupils are asked to read an article on juvenile delinquents (15 minutes). Then questioning about:

- who uses foul language?
- why do they use it?
- if pupils use foul language, how will people perceive their status?
- what are the disadvantages of using foul language?

Conclusion:

Using foul language is an extremely poor behaviour. If the students have such a bad habit, they should get rid of it. As using slang may also affect one's personality, students should avoid using it.'

In this lesson, the teacher played the role of an 'instructor' persuading pupils to accept certain values and to behave in certain ways. According to Straughan's (1982) classification, this teaching strategy is content-based (this term is defined in Chapter Two). Based on this classification, the lessons observed were analysed and classified, the result is shown in the table below.

Table 5.7 Teaching strategies used in classroom teaching

	content-based	form-based	lessons in which values are not touched
A	2	1	2
B	7	0	0
C	4	1	1
SUB-TOTAL	13	2	3

[N.B. The four pupils' presentation sessions run by Form Six students of School B were not included]

A content-based strategy dominated the lessons observed. In School B, all the seven lessons observed (excluding the four sessions run by the form six pupils), focussed on the inculcation of Christian ethics and values. The following are edited fieldnotes taken during two classroom observations in School B. They reflect the strategy teachers adopted. The first was a form two lesson on one's 'image of oneself'.

'The teacher started by checking who had not brought a Bible. A game was conducted. Pupils were divided into two groups according to sex. The teacher read a description of a classmate and they guessed in turn who he or she was. After the game, pupils were asked a few questions about how they worked out the answer. The conclusion was that everybody had distinct characteristics. The teacher continued by explaining to the pupils why she taught that topic. She quoted the words of a singer who was a christian. The singer said,

'No matter whether I am popular or have passed the peak of my career, no matter whether I am rich or poor, it is all unimportant. The most important thing is that I am a 'distinctive' person—Wong Hai Yan.
God loves everyone.'

The teacher concluded that everyone was unique and God treated everyone as equally important. She read out a passage from the Bible to substantiate this assertion.'

The second was a form three lesson on smoking.

'Slides were shown and experiments were conducted to illustrate the harmful effects of smoking. The conclusion was on what the Bible said about the importance of keeping oneself healthy. A verse was read out and elaborated by the teacher to substantiate the argument that people should not harm their own health by smoking' (fieldnotes).

These two typical lessons show that the core of Christian Ethics lessons centred on introducing, explaining, elaborating and promoting Christian values and precepts. There was hardly any serious effort made to introduce other views.

For F.6 and 7, the teaching process was very different. Pupils were usually divided into groups of two. Each group was asked to collect information about a topic which they selected from a list prepared by the teacher. Each group had one lesson to present their findings and ideas. The data collection methods used ranged from extracting information from secondary sources (such as books, T.V. programmes, songs) to first hand data collection (for example, one group attended a Sikh religious function and conducted an interview afterwards) (fieldnotes).

The pupils' presentation was usually comprised of three parts: facts about the topic, non-christian views and finally the christian view. They tended to use a variety of means of presentation, such as audio tapes or drama. Usually the 'facts and description' section occupied two-thirds of the lesson. Most of the remaining time was devoted to elaborating the related christian values, leaving little time for the other side of the argument. Two form seven girls said that when they prepared for the presentation, they focussed on the Christian view (fieldnotes). In the session that followed, the teacher would comment on the pupils' work and concentrate on elaborating and clarifying the Christian viewpoint.

The interviews with the teachers confirm this preference for a content-based teaching strategy

in School B. The Head of Academic Affairs described the teaching strategy he adopted, 'The overall inclination is on the 'content-based' strategy. All teachers are Christians. They all have very "Christianised values". They believe in this and they work to put it into practice. Because they hope to influence their pupils' (interview).

Table 5.8 Teachers' preference of teaching strategy

School	content-based	form-based	confused	mixed
A	1	2	3	0
B	7	1	1	2
C	3	1	1	1
SUB-TOTAL	11	4	5	3

[N.B. Only teachers who have been involved with and/or taught moral education were included.]

[CONFUSED: Teachers who are against a content-based approach but also find serious problems with a form-based approach.

MIXED: Teachers who feel that a content-based approach is more appropriate to junior form pupils while a form-based one is better for senior form teaching.]

The preference for a content-based strategy is not restricted to those teachers with strong religious beliefs. In School C, where there was no consensus on what values should be passed on to the pupils (the principal, interview), a content-based teaching strategy was the dominant methodology preferred and adopted by the moral education teachers. In fact, as shown in the above table, nearly two-thirds of the teachers interviewed backed the content-based approach. This finding is in congruence with Kutnick's (1989) study of primary school teachers in Trinidad and Tobago.

The preference for a content-based strategy may be the result of the interplay of a number of forces. The 'deficit' view of the students held by the teachers being one. As has been pointed out in Section II.D, teachers felt that moral education should mainly be concerned with tackling pupils' problems. Teachers' views of pupils' problems is influenced by the differences in the culture between pupils and teachers described by Woods (1979) as,

'...many children take to schools a culture which is not conducive to good order in the institution. The culture might value, for example, initiative, single-mindedness, activity and individualism: the school, on the other hand, invariably favours receptivity, malleability, docility and conformity' (P.149-150).

As Quicke (1986) too has found, it seems that teachers see their students as deficient in social and moral awareness and want therefore to inject some values into their minds.

Also teachers are very used to passing on information to pupils (Parsons, 1987). The lack of vigorous staff development in this case meant that teachers did not have a chance to review

critically the suitability of the teaching strategy they were hitherto used to. Most teachers just naturally followed their usual practice in teaching, passing on something to the pupils, the only difference was that in moral education the essence of transmission was attitudes and values. Some teachers who were more reflective about their work, felt that pupils did not accept the values taught in class. As this problem was more serious in the senior forms (the fourth year and above), they came up with a compromise. In junior forms, they preferred to pass on values to pupils as they were younger and more ready to accept the teachers' views. But they thought that a form-based strategy was more appropriate for senior form students (for example, Miss Hui, School B).

A handful of teachers disapproved of content-based teaching, but many of them were daunted by the difficulties of putting form-based teaching into their classroom practice. The following abstract illustrates this,

'I think that the ideal (teaching strategy) is form based...However, I think that this is very much 'teacher-dependent' (depends very much on the teacher). Whether he has the skills... and also his own character, i.e. whether he's dominating. Should I use the word 'dominating'? ... However, the teachers, though aiming at form-based, may tell pupils many of their subjective views. Their views may, very often, influence pupils' views. This is what we can't control....I feel that moral education is, in some ways, content-based. Adults, because of their differences in upbringing and environment, have their own values. There are some values which we feel are right. We teach them those values and the rationale behind them..... I think this is very difficult. When I teach it, I try to be objective, not to draw a conclusion quickly. However, in some situations, I tell them my views unintentionally. These views can be very influential if a good rapport with the pupils has been built' (Miss Lo, interview).

Teachers face difficulties in maintaining a neutral chairperson role and keeping themselves from influencing and guiding pupils. Even those who strongly preferred the form-based approach, e.g. Head of Social Education in School A, commented on this problem in a chat with me. This perhaps explains why, while some teachers preferred form-based teaching, it was so rarely used in the classroom.

This conflicts sharply with the recommendation made in the General Guidelines by the central agency that schools should avoid passing on values to pupils.

When one looks back to the aims stated by the teachers and the school authorities, this strong reliance on content-based teaching is not surprising.

V. *TEACHING METHODS*

Morris (1982) shows that economics teachers in Hong Kong, while mostly adopting the centrally developed curriculum, relied heavily on lecturing. This domination of teacher-centred methods has also been reported by Llewellyn et al.(1982),

'The lessons we observed tended to be teacher-centred, with little use of aids beyond chalk and blackboard' (p.53).

This study finds, as shown in the table below, that 'teacher-dominated talk' was only used very occasionally. The two lessons in School B in this category were actually the comment sessions on form six pupils' presentations by the teacher. The one in School A was conducted by a guest speaker. When these are taken into account, then there were no lessons observed where lecturing was the dominant mode of teaching in moral education.

As in moral education lessons in primary schools in Japan (Tomoda, 1988), audio-visual materials were frequently used, especially in School C. If audio-visual aids were not used, there were worksheets which might take the form of an aptitude or psychological test for the pupils to work through.

Table 5.9 Teaching methods used: dominant activity

	School	A	B (number of lessons)	C
teacher-dominated talk		1	2	0
teacher-guided, highly structured (e.g. Q & A)		1	2	4
teacher-guided, loosely structured		3	0	1
group discussion		1	0	1
own research by pupils		0	4	0

Table 5.10 Teaching methods: major tools of learning

	School	A	B (number of lessons)	C
listen to teacher talk		2	4	0
worksheet (drilling type)		0	0	1
worksheet (case analysis, psychological/ aptitude test, newspaper cutting)		2	1	3
audio tape		0	1	1
slides		0	1	1
video tape		2	0	3
pupil's presentation		0	3	0
game		1	1	0
others		1	1	0

The above findings may have been a result of 'observer effects' as there is always a danger that the teacher will put on a show for the researcher. But from the records of the lesson plans and interviews with pupils, the pattern described above can be confirmed. In School A, pupils described the teaching methods used,

'They (the teaching methods used by teachers) are usually what you have seen in our lesson. The teacher shows us a video, hands out newspaper cuttings or questionnaire and then talks. There is discussion and questioning also.' (a form six student, School A)

'the teacher let us watch a video, asks questions. Sometimes he distributes questionnaires or psychological tests to us. When we have queries or questions, we ask the teacher. Sometimes, the teacher explains the ideas to us in the form of jokes so as to make it easier for us to understand' (a form three student, School A).

A form two pupil in School C said,

'We usually watched video and then the teacher talks for a while. Sometimes, she asks us a few questions. Sometimes, group discussion. Mainly activity-based' (interview).

Why was such a pattern of teaching methods adopted? The reason for the predominance of 'teacher-centred' methods in most subjects is, to a large extent, a response to the pressure and nature of public examinations. Llewellyn et al. (1982) assert,

'Since the students are desperate to obtain their qualifications, and as teachers are judged professionally in terms of their students' results, the whole business is understandable. Discovery methods, team teaching and individualised instruction have little appeal to parents, students and teachers in a situation where the ends require more didactic means. Obtaining a credential to ensure a job offer and if possible, upward social mobility (rather than providing an interesting and intellectually broadening curriculum) is the almost universally agreed objective' (p.53-54).

The demands of public examinations, of course, do not necessarily lead teachers to adopt 'teacher-centred' methods if the abilities essential for examination success cannot be developed through lecturing. Unfortunately, as Lam (1984) has found, questions set in public examinations more often than not require regurgitation of facts and concepts rather than higher level ability. Therefore, teacher-centred teaching methods are commonly used in most subjects.

As moral education was not included in public examinations, one may be tempted to speculate that teachers will automatically adopt pupil-centred teaching methods. However, there may be some other forces behind the adoption of pupil-centred methods.

Usually, teachers enjoy a very high degree of privacy in their classrooms (Lieberman & Miller, 1984). When moral education was being developed, all the school authorities studied, asked teachers to form teams to develop teaching materials, plan their lessons and share their 'products'. It was thought that team members might then feel some pressure to follow the type of teaching methods agreed or set by the central committee. The teaching methods preferred by the curriculum leaders in the schools were pupil-centred and activity based (Social Education Teachers' Handbook, School A; Minutes of C.E. Curriculum Development Committee Meeting, (March, 85), School B; Minutes of the Guidance Committee Meeting (March, 1983), School C).

This pressure, though powerful in some cases, does not seem to be the major thrust behind the adoption of more pupil-centred teaching methods. In School A, for example, teachers who did not like moral education refused to follow the pattern of work and to produce lesson plans or teaching materials on time (for details, see Chapter Six Section III). Such teachers then, who dared to defy instructions, would be likely to challenge the teaching methods recommended if they did not like them. But they did not.

What are the reasons behind not using lecturing and the widespread use of audio-visual materials in moral education lessons? This study reveals the need to maintain the smooth functioning of classes as the major factor. Controlling the class effectively is always a key concern of teachers (Woods, 1979; Denscombe, 1980; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Olson & Eaton, 1987; Dalton, 1988). Public examinations can be used as a means to successful classroom management (Parsons, 1987). In Hong Kong, getting good results in examinations is a key motive in promoting learning (Llewellyn et al, 1982), teachers could, therefore, use examinations to control their students. As moral education was not included in the public examinations, however, moral education teachers lost a major 'stick' in classroom management. A teacher put this clearly, '...in Chinese lesson, there is usually work e.g. homework for pupils to do in relation to what's taught, so it's not too noisy. But there's no homework in moral education, they (pupils) can talk and talk (among themselves) if they are not interested in the teaching.' (Miss Butt, School C, interview)

To maintain classroom control, teachers can resort to a number of strategies. 'Domination', 'negotiation' and 'occupational therapy' are three of the commonly adopted survival strategies (Woods, 1979). It seems moral education teachers did not like the 'domination' method. They, especially those who were committed to moral education, felt that in order to improve the effectiveness of moral education, a more open atmosphere in the classroom was essential. Miss Tai (School B) was a case in point. She said that when pupils were naughty in class, she would scold them. But in moral education sessions, scolding pupils would ruin the atmosphere. Consequently teachers were usually more 'tolerant' of 'misbehaviour' in moral education lessons. Pupils also felt the difference. The form four pupils in School C interviewed said that teachers were more lenient in moral education lessons. This perception of how a lesson should be run was very different from that of teachers of other subjects. This is congruent with the findings of Sikes et al. (1985) that teachers of different subjects have a different perception of what methods are suitable for the teaching of their subjects.

In this situation, the teachers turned to the strategy of 'negotiation'. Teachers in the present study found, from experience, that lecturing did not work. For instance, in the Ethics Coordinators' Meeting in School A in 1980 and 1981, teachers repeatedly described lecturing as 'dull' and unsuitable. By providing pupils with more interesting activities in the classroom, pupils would be entertained and thus cause less disruption. Parsons (1987) and Sikes et al. (1985) have both identified a similar strategy adopted by teachers. Sikes et al. (1985) find that science

teachers use practical sessions; arts teachers use pottery, printing etc. as a 'carrot' or bait.

Researchers on teachers' lives have pointed out that 'occupational therapy' is another survival strategy commonly adopted by teachers. Woods (1979) finds that activities like drawing maps, pictures and 'Play' can 'take the edge off boredom and fractiousness and thus prevent incidents (a)rising' (p.163). The 'progressive' teaching methods, like the use of aptitude tests and videos adopted by teachers in the present study, also served similar functions.

Teachers were very selective in their choice of pupil-centred teaching activities. For example, the school authorities of schools A and C strongly advocated organising 'discussions' in the moral education classroom. But teachers frequently did not follow this recommendation frequently because such discussions were very difficult to control and manage (Minutes of the Ethics Coordinators' Meeting, (Jan, 1981), School A; Miss Butt & Miss Che, School C, interview). Instead, audio-visual materials and aptitude tests (or psychological tests) were very often used. This illustrates clearly that activities which could help teachers to keep the classroom in order were used. The following quotation illustrates the feelings of the teachers,

'If we want them (pupils) to concentrate and everybody can keep quiet, the only thing we can do is to use TV or slides.' (Miss Che, School C, interview)

While adopting pupil-centred activities, teachers in School B used videos much less frequently than those in the other two schools. The resources available to the teachers are the key to explaining this pattern. The school authorities of schools A and C had tried extremely hard to provide the hardware and space for teachers to use audio-visual materials. In School A, part of the library was partitioned for moral education teachers to show videos to the pupils. In School C, a special audio-visual room with high quality equipment and excellent support services was set up. Moral education teachers had first priority in using this room. By contrast, teachers in School B were less well-supported in this respect. Using videos required much preparation and caused a lot of trouble, therefore teachers seldom used them (Head of Religious Studies, School B, interview). This finding is very much in line with Sikes et al.'s (1985) view, 'What is done in the classroom depends to a large extent on the resources that are available' (p.207). Providing the resources necessary for the use of certain methods does not mean that the methods will be used, but depriving teachers of the resources will, inevitably put teachers off certain methods. The widespread use of A-V materials and aptitude tests does not mean that the essence of pupil-centred methods was adopted. In classroom teaching, in-depth discussions among pupils, and between the pupils and the teacher were rare. Among the lessons observed, very often, after watching or listening to the A-V materials, or filling in the worksheets, the teacher just asked a few questions about the content of the materials. Teachers did not use discussion because it was extremely difficult to control the noise level and to get pupils to participate. The unpredictability of pupils' responses also posed problems.

IV. EVALUATION

A. *NEGLECT OF EVALUATION WORK*

Neither School A nor School C included any form of assessment of pupils in their moral education programmes. But in School B, Christian Ethics, the major means of moral education, was included in school examinations. Pupils from forms one to five had to sit traditional paper and pencil examinations held at the end of each term. This accounted for 60% of the total mark. The remaining 40% was decided by the teachers based on the pupils' performance in the classroom and in assignments.

Based on the question papers of 1985 and 1987 which, it was claimed, were typical (the Head of the Religious Affairs, interview), the following characteristics can be identified.

Questions in the examinations and tests can be classified into two broad categories, namely biblical knowledge and 'ethical' questions. They followed the course content taught very closely. In the first term of forms one and two, the questions set were restricted to the testing of the knowledge and understanding of concepts related to the biblical stories taught.

In forms three to five, and in the second term of forms one to two, questions on ethical issues related to the pupils' daily life, school life, community affairs and global issues formed the core. In the examination pupils had to explain some concepts and/or argue a case. Sometimes they had to apply teachings in the Bible to satisfy the examiners. Marks were based on the understanding of the knowledge and the concepts taught, and the analytical skills. Below are some questions extracted from the examination paper in the 85-86 F.3 final examination.

1. Sister Teresa was not an Indian but she has spent most of her life working for the poor people.
 - a. What do you think is the motivation for her action? (6 marks)
 - b. What returns does she get? (6 marks)
 - c. What is your evaluation of her work? (8 marks)
2. Below is a letter from Tammy to Ming Sum, describing the family problems perplexing her. If you were Ming Sum, how would you advise her in your reply? (20 marks)

"Ming Sum,

How are you? I have thought for a long time before I made up my mind writing to you because I believe that only you can give me advice.

The relationship between me and every member of my family has been very poor. The relationship between me and my brother and sister-in-law is worse than one between strangers. I have a brother who has three kids. I also have a sister. They, my parents and I, totally nine people, live together. I do not like, even hate, big families. So I have decided to leave this family one day. My sister-in-law is not well-educated and is very rude. I hate her. Once I step into my home, I feel uncomfortable. They (including my mother) are all very emotional. Even a minute thing can cause with a quarrel.....

Tammy"

3. True love and infatuation are different. Write a love story to illustrate what true love

is (the length must not be less than 100 words).'

In forms six and seven, pupils were evaluated on their performance in collecting materials and presenting ideas in class. The criteria of evaluation were made known to the pupils, however the final marking rested solely with the teacher. Hence subjective judgement might be involved but pupils had not complained about this system.

Evaluation of a curriculum is not limited to assessment of the pupils. Schools A and C had tried to collect pupils' opinions about and responses to the subject by conducting questionnaire surveys. The information gathered was superficial and was seldom used for curriculum planning and modifications, and so they stopped collecting it.

B. PROBLEMS IN CURRICULUM EVALUATION

The curriculum users studied had, as was also found by David (1983), Pring (1984) and Wakeman (1984), identified a range of problems with evaluation in moral education which rendered it a difficult task. First, the criteria of success adopted varied. For example, the principal of School A argued that the moral education programme could be evaluated from the following points of view,

1. whether the students like it,
2. whether it improved discipline in school.

Mr. Wan, a teacher of his school judged the success of the programme from 'teachers' sense of achievement and students' change in behaviour'. Miss Suen of School C commented,

'(It's) difficult to set the level of "good" and "bad"...' (interview).

Secondly, it was felt that it was 'extremely difficult' to evaluate the effectiveness of the programme. The principal of School A elaborated this. He said that he had seen a great improvement in pupil discipline in the academic year 1987-88, but he was not sure what had brought this about. It might have been the effect of the moral education programme. It might, on the other hand, have been the success of the disciplinary committee. The head of moral education in schools A, B, and C had raised other problems to do with evaluation. They felt that changes in behaviour did not necessarily mean changes in values and beliefs. It was extremely difficult to explore the motives behind pupils' deeds. For example, a pupil who reported his/her classmate's misbehaviour might do it out of hatred and personal conflict rather than honesty and righteousness. Furthermore, teachers could only observe pupils' behaviour in school. A student who performed well in school did not necessarily behave in similar ways outside school. Another problem identified was that the effects of moral teaching might only be evident in pupils' behaviour many years later.

The curriculum users admitted that they did not know how to assess the effectiveness of their

programmes, although they wanted to know more about this. During the field study period, I was invited many times to suggest how the effectiveness and results of their programmes might be assessed.

C. RELIANCE ON INTUITIVE JUDGEMENT

School personnel, without 'objective' data, as Webb & Ashton (1987) assert, relied heavily on intuitive evaluation, their classroom observation of pupils' feedback and their very informal contact with pupils.

Many teachers relied on the belief that implementing a moral education programme was better than sitting back and doing nothing. Miss Suen of School B is an example. She said, 'We should aim continuously to improve our work and teaching' (interview).

Similarly, the Head of Social Education of School A expressed his view,
'It's extremely difficult to evaluate the effectiveness. But doing it is better than not doing it' (interview).

Research has shown that evaluation data provide essential raw information for curriculum users to revise and improve their work (Shavelson & Stern, 1981; Purkey & Smith, 1985 cited in Reid et al., 1987; David, 1983). Successful outcomes can reverse the negative attitudes of people who resist the change (Matthews & Sudas, 1982, cited in Marsh, 1986), and can generate a sense of progress (Wakeman, 1984; Fullan, 1985) and enhance motivation (Peters & Waterman, 1982; Huberman, 1983) among those who are interested and involved in the change. This is essential to the continuance of a new practice (Clark, et al., 1984). Loucks & Zacchei (1983) put this forcefully, 'Nothing speaks louder in discussions of priorities than clear evidence of effectiveness' (p.31). The absence of evaluation may, therefore, hinder the implementation process.

This study reveals that, as Stradling (1986) asserts, those not committed to the change could use this weakness critically. They could argue that they had no evidence as to what the results were, so why should they implement the change? For some committed teachers, uncertainty about the effectiveness of their work affected the maintenance of interest in and commitment to, the change. Miss Tan, a moral education teacher of School C, for example, admitted this problem.

(The effect of lack of evaluation on the implementation process is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six).

VII. CONCLUSION

This study does not aim at evaluating the programme. The findings show that the implemented curriculum was characterised by its problem-shooting aims, lack of coherent structure and lack of a theoretical framework. It was dominated by content-based teaching strategies. Before the curriculum change was introduced, moral education was undertaken in a piecemeal,

unstructured and implicit manner. The curriculum change brought about an explicit programme but one which remained piecemeal and lacked coherent structure. The recommended integrated approach was not taken up. In the official document, the General Guidelines on Moral Education, it was stated that inculcating a specific set of values should be avoided. But content-based strategies were adopted and many teachers hoped that their pupils would accept the values taught. As far as teaching methods were concerned, although audio-visual teaching materials were widely used and lecturing became less common, the teaching was far from being liberal or 'pupil-centred'. Nor was it aimed at encouraging pupils to make independent value judgements. These features suggest that the degree of real change is of a low level. Teachers have not changed their values and beliefs towards moral education.

[Footnote:

5.1: Caput schools, unlike subsidised ones, are only partially subsidised by the government. Teachers are paid ninety percent of the salary of those in the subsidised and government schools.

5.2: Primary school graduates are classified into five bands according to their academic abilities. Band one is the highest and band five is the lowest. Secondary school places are allocated according to pupils' band and parental choice.]

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS IN THE SCHOOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

After describing the characteristics of the moral education curricula developed in the schools studied, this chapter will be on the key features of the implementation process in the schools. The processes of change in the three schools are not identical but they share some common features. Given these common features, the following themes are identified which form the framework of this chapter:

1. Pressing needs: initiation and adoption
2. Resistance from teachers: divergent demands, subject identity and constraints
3. The failure of the support system: administrative control vs. teacher autonomy
4. Adaptation
5. Survival and expansion: the importance of the principal's support, die-hard supporters and local facilitators
6. Difficulties teachers faced and the solutions adopted: pragmatism and practicality
7. The involvement of parents

The first five themes follow the temporal order of the implementation process in the schools, namely awareness and initiation, adoption, adaptation, stabilization and institutionalization. The last two themes are interesting features which prevailed throughout the whole implementation process.

II. PRESSING NEEDS: INITIATION AND ADOPTION

The effort made to revive moral education in the three schools was basically internally initiated rather than a response to pressure from the central agency. It was more a response to the serious behavioural problems which interrupted the smooth functioning of the learning and teaching processes in the schools. The demand by the public for a revival of moral education also played a part. The case of School A illustrates this clearly.

School A, because of its history, its school organisation and its geographical location, was not able to attract high quality form one pupils (former school social worker, interview). After the nine year compulsory education system was implemented, the quality of the new intake of form one pupils was even worse and the school was not legally permitted to expel pupils in forms one to three. The discipline problem was extremely alarming. Some teachers began to wonder what they could do to alleviate the situation. The vice-principal was one of these. He described his experience,

‘...When I first started working in this school, I was responsible for discipline. ...After nearly one year, when I looked back and thought about it, (I felt that) the practice adopted in this school was very passive. We just reacted to problems after they had arisen. When

the kids broke the rules, we found out who did it and punished them. We were just like policemen. I felt that it's abnormal. It might be said that it's too negative. There was very little positive education. So we thought that we should include in the curriculum an element of teaching students how to deal with things and how to be a man.'

These teachers were not alone in their anxieties. The principal was also concerned. During a lunch, he came up with the idea that the first step to tackle the discipline problems should be to improve the understanding between the form teachers and the pupils. Therefore, he suggested that a form period for form teachers to get to know their classes better should be instituted. An ad hoc committee was set up to look into this idea. The committee recommended the establishment of a subject called 'ethics'. The first lesson of each six-day cycle would be used for this work for forms one to three.

The reason behind the initiation of the curriculum change in School C was similar. Being a newly established school in a developing new town, the quality of the intake of form one pupils was very poor (mostly band four and five). Besides being academically weak, these pupils caused major discipline problems. Some pupils were involved in triad society (i.e. gang) activities and theft. The discipline master said that at that time, he had to go to the police station fairly frequently to help students who were in trouble with the police. The school bought binoculars for teachers to 'monitor' what pupils did and whom they met in the area around the school. Disruption in the classroom was the order of the day. Teachers and the school authority (footnote 6.1) 'felt that the pupils were different from the pupils we expected' (the principal, School C, interview).

Miss Cheung, who was appointed as the Guidance Mistress responsible for the pastoral care of the pupils in 1980, felt that taking remedial measures alone was ineffective. Preventive measures should be taken. She seemed also to have been influenced by the highly publicised 'adolescence problems' and the call to revive moral education from various sectors of society. In her personal record of the Guidance Committee work, newspaper cuttings with the following headings were kept,

- 'Change adolescents' values, fight against undesirable trends'
- 'The society needs values education'
- 'Help the teachers'
- 'Bad news from abroad—adolescence problem worrying'
- 'Improve teacher-pupil ratio, strengthen moral education and counselling work'

Through personal contact, she came across the experience of three other schools which had attempted to develop these 'preventative measures' which became the prototype for the change. Plans were drafted and discussed in the Guidance Committee. The proposal for organising mass programmes in moral education was accepted and approved by the principal. This marked the beginning of the revival of explicit moral education programmes in School C.

The case of School B was different from the other two because it was converted from another school. The curriculum of the old school, in which moral education was carried out mainly through form periods, was transplanted directly into the new school. A teacher who had worked in the old

school pointed out that the reason for setting up form periods in the old school was very similar to those of schools A and C, namely tackling pupils' behavioural problems. The school was also aware of the strong public demand for moral education and felt the need to improve students' moral standards.

In all three cases studied, the change was internally-initiated and internally-generated, but the adoption decision was not 'democratically-made' if democracy is measured by the level of involvement of teachers. In schools A and C, after the idea of developing moral education was initiated, the adoption decision was made by the principal and a few teachers who were closely involved in the initiation process. For example, in School C where the school administration was divided into three main committees, namely the academic, discipline and guidance committees, neither the head of academic affairs nor the discipline committee was consulted. It was treated very much as the exclusive business of the Guidance Committee. Similarly, in School A, the minutes of the staff meeting show that teachers were just informed of the adoption decision and there was no discussion about the curriculum development in the staff meeting. Teachers' participation was even more restricted in the case of School B. All the curricular decisions, moral education being no exception, were made by the principal single-handedly as he was the only member of staff employed at the planning stage of the new school.

In conclusion, although the schools were influenced by public demand for moral education, the main thrust behind the new moral education initiatives came from the serious discipline problems among the students. There was no direct pressure from the central agency for the change. This contrasts sharply with the usual practice of curriculum change in schools in Hong Kong where the 'centre-periphery' model is normally followed.

A curriculum change which is developed by a school usually enjoys a higher commitment among the teachers than those originated outside the school, as it can meet the needs of the school (Skilbeck, 1984). The commitment of teachers, in turn, is conducive to successful implementation (Loucks, 1983). Was this the case in the schools studied? Or, since in the initiation and adoption process, only the principal and at most a few teachers were involved, did other teachers feel the urgency of the problem and share the view that there was a need for change? Did they question the suitability of the change? Did they respond favourably to the change? What other forces shaped the response of the teachers? How did these forces influence the change? These questions will be discussed in the next section.

III. RESISTANCE FROM TEACHERS: DIVERGENT DEMANDS, SUBJECT IDENTITY AND CONSTRAINTS

The proposed means of carrying out moral education in schools A and C were the use of form periods and mass programmes (with form period as follow-up) respectively. In School A, the form

period was one period per week and the work was assigned to form teachers. Although limited to forms one to three, the number of teachers involved, in proportion to the total number of staff, was very high. In School C, all form teachers were required to run a form period which was used as a follow-up session to hall assembly, the core of the mass programme. Therefore, the number of teachers involved was high, even though the whole operation was organised and planned solely by the members of the Guidance Committee.

In School B, use of a form period taken by form teachers was the major means of organising moral education when the school was established. Again, like the other two schools, the level of staff involvement was very high.

The response of form teachers in schools A & C was far from satisfactory. The majority were either indifferent or strongly opposed to the change. The following comment vividly expresses the animosity of those opposed to the change,

‘I... did not find it meaningful. It was initiated by the boss.... I don’t know why the boss suggested it but as it was suggested by the boss, we had to follow’ (Mr. Wan, School A, interview).

The Head of Social Education of School A found that very few teachers staunchly supported the change. He said,

‘I’m not sure exactly how many teachers are devoted to moral education but in general, I can say that only very few teachers are devoted to moral education. Teachers are not very involved. Most of them think that teaching is the passing of knowledge in books to the students’ (interview).

The vice-principal, School A, considered the lack of experience and training in moral education contributed to the rejection of the innovation by teachers.

‘Most of those who object to this change think, “Ah, how can I teach this? Firstly, it’s boring. Secondly, how could this be taught?” Some people say that... modelling is important so there is no need to teach it. They think that it’s difficult to discuss moral issues. If all these were analysed, I guess (the conclusion would be) they just do not know how to do it, and when one doesn’t know how to do something, one tends to come up with a lot of theories (excuses). (Laugh) I guess this is (a mechanism of) self-defence.’ (interview)

Asking teachers to teach moral education created uncertainty and anxiety because it was new to them. Teaching such a new subject, without appropriate training and professional preparation, would ‘deskill’ the teachers. Another difficulty the teachers had to face was the acute shortage of teaching materials. When the change was initiated in the early eighties, the amount of teaching materials available was meagre. The only resources were some counselling and psychology books and magazines from Taiwan which required considerable adaptation before they could be of classroom use. Moreover, because of social and cultural differences, they were not very useful to teachers (for details, see Chapter Two). Under such unfavourable conditions, the new task was very demanding for the teachers.

However, the above problems cannot fully account for the teachers' negative reaction. In schools A & C, some teachers did carry out the work, despite all the difficulties. In School B, teachers, in general, did not reject the task of teaching form periods although they admitted facing similar problems to their counterparts in the other two schools. Why was this so? Those who were committed to the change accepted it and continued the work despite the harsh conditions. Why were some teachers more committed than others?

Involvement in the initiation and adoption of a change is said to be important in generating commitment to a change, but it cannot be the sole factor as many of the teachers whole-heartedly committed to the change had not played any part in the early stage. Indeed, all the teachers in School B were excluded from the initiation and adoption process but some of them willingly took up the moral education task.

The explanation lies in the teachers' perception of their duties and role. From the interviews, it is clear that the teachers had very strong subject identity. When they were asked 'what do you teach?', the answers were mostly 'biology', 'English', 'art', 'history' and so on, rather than 'children'. Teachers saw themselves as teachers of particular subjects. The major criteria of good subject teaching were the ability to cover the academic content (the vice-principal, School C, interview), to develop pupils' academic ability (Mr. Wan, School A), and to help pupils get through examinations (the principal, School C, interview). Teaching about values was not a key criterion of good subject teaching.

Since they had such a restricted view of their role as teachers, moral education was treated by many teachers as 'extra-work'. They did not mind moral education being introduced as long as they did not have to teach it (Mr. Wan & Miss Chen, School A, interview). Many teachers did not see themselves as having any professional obligation or responsibility to promote their pupils' moral development.

This strong subject identity can be attributed to the structure of knowledge, the administrative structure and the training of the teachers. In tertiary institutions in Hong Kong, as in England, 'knowledge' is divided into subjects such as history, geography, economics, physics, chemistry and so on. This knowledge structure is adopted in the public examination system where pupils sit examinations in certain subjects. Teachers are trained in this system and become specialists in certain subjects.

In the schools, teachers were divided into departments with senior teachers heading each department. Each subject was seen as independent and specialised. The attitude of the principal of School C illustrates this:

'Especially in senior form, it (teaching) is fairly specialised. If the principal does not consider the subject teachers as specialists and they have to take up various kinds of responsibilities, then the teachers will feel that they are primary school teachers. This is not good for the school' (interview).

Teachers considered that involving themselves in committees or departments other than those related to their own subject was an intrusion into each others' backyards. There was in fact very little interaction across subject boundaries (for details, see Section VII). This practice inevitably generated a feeling of 'territory' and teachers did not feel the need to contribute to other committees' activities.

The teachers in School B did not refuse to get involved in moral education work. This was a result of the recruitment policy of School B. The school authority of School B, purposely selected teachers who were devoted Christians having a strong sense of mission to spread the Gospel. Moral education in this school was closely linked to the passing on of Christian values and principles, therefore, this group of teachers treated moral education as part of their responsibilities. The Guidance Mistress praised the devotion of the teachers to pastoral care,

'Many teachers are very concerned about their pupils so they get involved promptly and the pupils' problems are tackled before we step in' (interview).

Furthermore, the teachers in this school were very young and inexperienced so that they had not developed a dogma of what 'teaching' was about and were therefore, more willing and prepared to accept the task of teaching moral education in the form of Christian Ethics and form periods.

Those teachers in schools A and C who were deeply involved in, and devoted to, the moral education programmes, for example Miss Che (School C) and Miss Chen (School A), also saw themselves as having a wider role than that of a subject specialist.

However, even these supporters of moral education still had a strong sense of subject loyalty and placed academic teaching high in their order of priorities. The Head of Religious Studies of School B admitted,

'Though (teachers) faithfully follow our instructions and suggestions, frankly speaking, they do not consider this (Christian Ethics) as the most important subject' (interview).

Miss Ngau, who was a staunch supporter of moral education in School A, decided to quit teaching 'Social Education' when she had to take up the teaching of form six geography. These comments and incidents reveal how strong the influence of subject teaching was.

IV. THE FAILURE OF THE SUPPORT SYSTEM: ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL VS. TEACHER AUTONOMY

In School A, the principal and the ad hoc moral education committee were aware of some of the potential difficulties in the implementation process ahead when they decided to adopt the change. They knew that some teachers would not be in favour of the change and it was also likely to be difficult to find teaching materials. A range of measures was adopted to tackle these problems. Firstly, form teachers of the same form were asked to set up a team which was responsible for designing the curriculum to be taught. Members shared among themselves the work of lesson

planning, which included collecting teaching materials, writing lesson plans and preparing A-V materials if necessary. Under this arrangement, each teacher had to prepare a moral education lesson every five weeks. In addition, teachers were to meet once every month to explain and discuss the lessons they had planned. In sum, this team-teaching system, besides helping to cut down the workload, could, if it functioned properly, facilitate the interaction and the exchange of views, thus assisting staff development.

Each team had to choose a coordinator and these formed a coordinators' committee chaired by the vice-principal. The reason for choosing the vice-principal as chairperson was,

'at the beginning, teachers might not believe in the new idea. (We) had to find somebody to press them. After it (the innovation) is established, they would have a system to follow. It would be much easier (to continue)' (the principal, interview).

The principal was very optimistic. He commented on the teachers' response in this way,

'No resistance at all (from teachers) because ethics was part of the curriculum. It was a period on the timetable. At the same time, some form teachers had only a few lessons with their classes. To them, ethics could let them know the students better. They might not accept it with open arms, but there *should* not be any objection' (interview, my italic).

Later developments proved that he was too 'rational' and overestimated his staff. Theoretically, if the support system worked smoothly, the preparation work would be shared evenly. Each teacher would only have to prepare one ethics lesson every five weeks which meant that the 'additional' workload would not be unmanageable. Furthermore, by exchanging views on the lessons every month, intellectual and professional interaction would be enhanced. Teachers would be stimulated to think, and hence the quality of the work might be improved. Plant (1987) reported that in her school the weekly meeting among personal and social education teachers for feedback, discussion and preparation worked very well and teachers found it extremely valuable. But in School A, the system broke down. Teachers failed to hand in the lesson plans and teaching materials on time. Some only delivered their lesson plans to their colleagues minutes before the lesson started without any briefing and discussion. This made it extremely difficult for other teachers to teach according to the suggestions stated in the lesson plans.

The optimistic hope that the objections would fade away proved to be a dream which never came true. The principal, despite all the power he had, did not have any effective means of ensuring that the system would function smoothly. In the moral education coordinators' meeting, the coordinators were expected to present a planned curriculum for their forms, but the coordinator of form one reported,

'The needs of the form one students are not clear, therefore we have not designed the curriculum yet' (the minutes of the Ethics Coordinators' First Meeting, Sept, 1981).

Under the section of A.O.B.,

'It was suggested that the next three topics of form one would be'

This incident shows that the form one teachers did not perform their duty as requested. The coordinators had no choice but to plan the curriculum for the form one teachers. Furthermore, when teachers failed to comply with the policy of handing in lesson plans for discussion in advance, the principal could not penalise the staff. The result was that meetings held each month for discussing the lesson plans and evaluating the lessons taught the month before did not turn out as expected. 'Discussions were superficial; in-depth discussion was lacking' (Miss Ngau, School A, interview). The quality of the work varied sharply. Some lesson plans were extremely poor and sketchy (Miss Chen & the vice-principal, School A, interview) and in some cases, lesson plans drafted by one teacher were not accepted by other teachers because of differences of view (Miss Ngau & Miss Chen, School A, interview). Therefore, some teachers developed their own plans rather than adopting those available. Consequently, their workload where lesson planning and collecting teaching materials were concerned was higher than expected.

The absence of control over teachers' work was also evident in School C. For each theme of the mass programme, there were sessions in the form of a hall assembly, a follow-up form period and some optional activities. The hall assembly and the optional activities were organised and run solely by the Guidance Committee. The teaching materials and lesson plans for the follow-up form period were prepared by the Guidance Committee also. The form teachers were only required to deliver them in the classroom. Many form teachers did not, however, carry out the lessons as planned by the Guidance Committee (the Guidance Mistress, interview).

In School B, where teachers perceived moral education to be part of their obligations and shared the belief that passing on Christian values would be beneficial for the pupils, these problems did not surface. However, the cases of schools A and C illustrate the vulnerability of a change which did not win the support and commitment of the teachers. The administrators did not have the means to ensure that the change was carried out as planned.

Conducting intensive staff development and relying on continuous support from external agents and local facilitators were possible ways of tackling the rejection problem. The curriculum development leaders in School A were aware of the positive potential for staff development but resources and support from the central agency were virtually absent. With the extremely limited resources available, the school had organised two short in-service programmes (one half-day and one day) with invited speakers from outside to expose teachers to the theory and practice of moral teaching. Two visits to other schools were arranged for teachers to exchange experiences. However, this type of one shot, short-term help was limited in effectiveness. Many teachers did not find them useful (Mr. Wan & the school social worker, School A, interview). An organiser of these activities also admitted that teachers who objected to the change, did not find these staff development activities of any help and the school authority had to make these activities compulsory to ensure attendance (the vice-principal, School A, interview).

The school authority of School A also tried to provide administrative help for teachers to attend courses related to moral education. However, because no extra staff were provided to relieve them, teachers had to attend these courses in their spare time. The school authority could only make timetable arrangements to facilitate attendance. For example, the Head of Social Education had one afternoon off each week for one academic year to take a course on sex education.

The school authorities in schools C and B did not organise any school-based staff development programmes to facilitate the change. However, they did inform the teachers about courses and seminars run by outside agencies (the Head of Religious Studies, School B; the Guidance Mistress, School B, interview). This limited work on staff development failed to generate the kind of deep-seated change needed among teachers. The curriculum users' understanding of fundamental issues such as the nature of moral education, ways of structuring a moral education programme and how to evaluate the programme, was weak. None of the curriculum users had any training in developing and managing school-centred curriculum change. The school authorities and teachers should not be blamed for this. There were just no resources available for staff development. Constrained by lack of human, financial and time resources, and by lack of experience, they could scarcely do more. Another way of improving teachers' commitment is by convincing them that the change does produce worthwhile results (Huberman, 1983). But the nature of moral education is such that it is difficult to illustrate the effectiveness of the programme in improving students' behaviour (for details, see Chapter Five, Section VI). Since the school authority failed to demonstrate the positive effects of the innovation, this gave the resistant teachers a strong argument with which to criticise the change. Without a clear picture of its effectiveness and clear indicator of how the programme should be modified, the continuation of the change depended too much on the 'belief' that the change was having a positive effect on the students.

V. ADAPTATION

For the above reasons, the curriculum leaders of School A bowed to the pressure and switched to 'specialisation' i.e. a team of specialist teachers was assigned to take up moral education. When asked why such a change was introduced, the principal said,

'Because of the problems I have mentioned (difficulties in coordination, teachers' skills, teachers' perception of role, teachers' personality).'(interview)

He further explained,

'Some teachers were not committed. With some their style of teaching did not fit in well. They found it difficult to prepare lessons. Some teachers were not acquainted with the subject, so sometimes the lesson plan was only ready a day before the lesson, making it very difficult for colleagues to teach it. The performance was not very good.' (interview)

The vice-principal elaborated the reasons for trimming down the number of teachers involved.

'There are two reasons. Firstly, it's very difficult to coordinate the system. As I've mentioned before, when it came to meetings, there's only one or two lesson plans were submitted for discussion. So teachers might get hold of the lesson plans just minutes before the lesson. It's extremely difficult (for the teachers). And to teach a lesson planned by others is not easy even if it is the subject one is specialised in. Teaching ethics with lessons planned by others is even more difficult. So we were not satisfied with the implementation work. We always wondered whether there was any other way of doing it.

Secondly, after a few years, we found that teaching by form teachers had its advantages. (For example) Form teachers know their students better. But it involved many teachers. It's extremely difficult to coerce most teachers to agree with this curriculum change or fit in with this kind of curriculum. Because of these reasons, we considered whether there were any other ways which could enhance the effectiveness. We considered using 'specialised' teachers because:

1. it would cut the number of teachers involved,
2. teachers joined voluntarily. Those who joined liked to teach it. It could avoid the problem that all teachers, no matter whether they liked it or not, had to teach it. The initiative of teachers would thus be improved.

Because of these reasons, we tried it for one year. We found that it functioned smoothly and the Head of Social Education was also very energetic in this and (he) also agreed with this way of structuring. After a year, we decided to continue' (interview).

The school social worker gave a similar account but she stressed that but for the availability of Mr. Sung, the Head of Social Education, who was an excellent moral education teacher, the principal might not have agreed to change to the 'specialised' system.

School C also switched to 'specialisation' in 1982, just one year after the mass programme was developed. The Guidance Committee evaluated the effect of the mass programmes after trying them for one year and found that some teachers did not follow the lesson plans and there were difficulties in coordination (Minutes of the Guidance Committee Meeting, June, 1982). In the light of these findings, the Guidance Committee sent a recommendation to the principal that a curriculum subject called 'Moral Education' should be established to replace 'form period'. Coincidentally, the school organisation (footnote 6.2) organised an inter-school seminar on moral education. The principal described what happened in the seminar,

'At that time, there were only three secondary schools under this school organisation. In the Seminar, I and the Guidance Mistress, felt that two schools were interested in developing moral education. Both of us were newly-established schools. The teachers felt that it was necessary (to develop moral education). They suggested in the seminar that there should be form period or a separate moral education subject. After the seminar, we found that we were not alone. There's a general feeling (that something should be done). So we started to plan the work on guidance' (interview).

The seminar served as the catalyst for the move to specialisation but the major thrust behind it was the problem of supervising a large number of teachers who were not committed to the change.

VI. SURVIVAL AND EXPANSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRINCIPAL'S SUPPORT, DIE-HARD SUPPORTERS AND LOCAL FACILITATORS

The description in the previous sections has revealed the level and complexity of the difficulties encountered by the schools, in particular those of schools A & C which adopted the change earlier than School B and did not have the benefit of a team of teachers sharing similar values and beliefs. Lack of training in moral education, no previous experience in school-centred curriculum development, an acute shortage of teaching materials and an almost complete absence of support from outside agencies, were far from ideal conditions to effect such changes. What made the situation even more vulnerable was the radical nature and the massive scale of the change. Implementing a new curriculum of an integrated nature was extremely difficult as it involved a 'head on' collision with teachers' subject identities. In such an unfavourable context, it seemed that the change would be unlikely to be stabilized and institutionalised. Surprisingly, all three schools not only institutionalised the change but also managed to extend it in some ways (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Major modifications of the moral education curriculum made

School A	
1982-3	– Set up mass programme (but abandoned after one year)
1983-4	– Form Three Moral Education taught by a 'specialist' teacher.
1984-5	– Moral Education taken by specialist teachers – Moral Education was extended to Form Four and Five – Moral Education was extended from one period per cycle to two period per cycle in Form One to Three
1985-6	– Moral Education was extended to Form Six and Seven
School B	
1984-5	– C.E. and form period were extended to Forms Two and Five.
1985-6	– C.E. and form period were extended to forms Three and Six
1986-7	– Form period and C.E. were merged. Teaching time was cut to four periods in every two cycles. C.E. was taken by form teachers.
1987-8	– Form period and C.E. were split again in Form Four and above. C.E. was taught by specialist teachers again while form period was still run by form teachers.
School C	
1982-3	– Set up a curriculum subject, 'Moral Education' to replace 'follow-up form period'. It had one period a cycle. It was taught by specialist teachers.
1984-5	– Invited other subjects (e.g. geography, biology) to join mass programmes
1986-7	– Set up voluntary services
1987-8	– Invited Forms Four and Six form teachers to teach a moral education topic in form period as a trial. Tried to formalise this arrangement in 1988-9 but failed.

The three schools extended moral education in the following ways,

-*School A*: Both the teaching time and coverage of classes were extended in 1984-85. For example, Moral Education was extended to Forms Four and Five and in the next year to the sixth form.

-*School B*: The merging of Christian Ethics and the form period meant that, in terms of teaching time, one lesson was cut. But when the school was first established, there were only Form One and Form Four classes. As the school slowly developed into a fully subsidized secondary school with classes from Form One to Form Seven, Christian Ethics was introduced into the curriculum of all the forms.

-*School C*: In 1982, the subject, Moral Education, was set up with one period of moral education per cycle for junior form students.

How and why was the change institutionalised and extended? The two major forces at work were the determination and support of the principal and the committed, die-hard supporters among the teachers. Teachers perceived the strong influence of principals on matters at school level. For example, the Head of Social Education (School A) said that without the strong support of the principal, no curriculum change could be successful. In all three schools, the principals were supportive of the change, even though the level and types of support varied. The importance of the principal's support to implementation can be illustrated by a comparison of events in schools A and C. School A flourished better than School C in terms of the expansion of teaching time and the coverage of pupils. In both schools, the principals acted as managers rather than instructional leaders. But their backing for the change and the spiritual support offered differed. A comparison of the views teachers took of the principal's support shows this clearly. In School A, Mr. Wan stressed three times in an interview, that it was the principal who initiated and developed this change. The school social worker said that the principal was very supportive. He not only provided considerable resources for the moral education teachers but was present at moral education functions in school whenever he was invited to be. He also made it clear that he would not back down on the policy of developing moral education. The Head of Social Education also strongly commended the support of the principal.

The principal of School C was very helpful in providing physical resources, such as allocating funds for purchasing teaching materials, making timetable arrangements for moral education teachers' convenience and so on (Head of Moral Education, interview). But the principal expressed the view in the interview that the first priority among all the educational aims was developing the academic ability of the students. The Guidance Mistress who had worked closely with the principal in developing the pastoral work and moral education understood the principal's view. She felt that the principal had not put enough emphasis upon or given enough moral support to moral education.

In School A, the head of department and some teachers were very daring in putting forward suggestions for extension. When the right moment came, they capitalised on it and more teaching time was won (the vice-principal, interview). On the other hand, in School C, the Guidance

Committee believed that the principal who put 'academic achievement' as the first priority, would not allocate precious teaching time in the senior forms for this 'pastoral' area. Consequently, the Guidance Mistress resorted to means within her control to expand the moral education work. She set up voluntary services; negotiated with and invited other subject panel heads through private channels to cooperate with the Guidance Committee in the running of mass programmes; she invited interested form teachers to teach moral education topics in form periods.

The importance of the principal's support was also reflected in the failure of the Guidance Committee of School C to include moral education topics in form period. In the academic year 1985-86, form periods were put into the timetable again. The principal claimed that it was the 'second front' of moral education. Most teachers, however, pointed out in the interviews that the reason for restoring form periods was to provide a time slot for form teachers to handle class affairs and matters such as deciding the site for the school picnic etc. Most pupils confirmed in the interviews that the form period was used for that sort of purpose. However, some form teachers found that the length of form period was more than enough for handling class business, therefore they prepared some teaching materials and used the time to discuss moral issues. Having discovered this, in 1987-88, the Guidance Mistress invited form teachers to teach the topic 'mental health' in form four and six during form periods. She suggested to the principal that it might be a good idea to invite form teachers to take on the teaching of Moral Education. The principal 'scaled down' the proposal and suggested the 'transfer' of some of the topics taught in Moral Education to the form period. As recommended by the Guidance Committee, this issue was brought to the staff meeting for discussion. A questionnaire survey was conducted after the meeting to collect teaching staff's views. About 40% of the teachers returned the questionnaire, mostly supporting the proposal. Instead of pushing the idea forward, the Head of Moral Education felt that,

'We were not sure of the view of the teachers who did not return the questionnaire. But we believed that it's mainly negative. So we dropped the proposal.' (fieldnotes)

If the Guidance Committee had had as supportive a principal as that of School A, it is unlikely that they would have backed down.

The above incident shows that teachers' reactions and responses were, to a certain extent, influenced by their perception of their headteacher. If the principal overtly advocated or supported a curriculum change, teachers who were responsible or supporting the change would have greater confidence in pushing it through.

Apart from the principals' support, the devotion and contribution of the teachers should not be played down. In School B, all staff were strongly committed to spreading the gospel and inculcating Christian ethics. In schools C and A, there were from the very beginning, some teachers who staunchly supported the change. It was very much due to these devoted teachers' efforts and hard work that the curriculum change was practised at the classroom level. Through continuous efforts in collecting teaching materials, an impressive amount of teaching material was accumulated and the problem of the shortage of teaching materials was eased. They also managed to develop moral

education programmes from scratch with minimal support from agencies outside the schools.

One point worthy of special mention was the contribution of the school social worker to the change in School A. Her role and work shed light on the importance and potential contribution of local facilitators from external agencies. The school social worker was technically not an employee of the school because she was employed by a voluntary agency providing school social service to schools. She was stationed in the school one day a week. In June 1980, the principal invited her to join the Moral Education Committee. She put forward ideas for the teachers to consider in structuring the moral education curriculum. She made the teachers' lives easier by introducing them to and helping them to borrow teaching materials. Her work was highly appreciated and praised by the administrators and *all* the teachers (both those who objected to and those who supported the change). Her success in promoting the change was very much due to her special status and knowledge as well as the role she adopted which had the following characteristics:-

1. She was easily accessible: She was in the school one day a week so that teachers knew her personally and could seek her help easily without the trouble of going out of the school.
2. She had special status: Asking help from a colleague, especially one who was not very cordial, might be interpreted as a sign of incompetence by others. The social worker, being employed by a voluntary social service organisation, was not formally a colleague. Therefore, it was less embarrassing for teachers to seek help from her.
3. She had experience and expertise: Though not an academic, her experience in handling adolescents' problems and developing family life education programmes in youth centres made her more knowledgeable about young people's values and moral development. She was also an 'insider'. From informal contacts and individual counselling work, she had in-depth first hand information about the pupils, the teachers and the 'micro-political' environment of the school. These enabled her to offer practical suggestions and help to the teachers.
4. She adopted a task-orientated consultant role: From the very beginning, the strategy adopted was to refrain from imposing her own views (the former school social worker, interview). When the curriculum was being designed, she supplied ideas and left the teachers to make their 'professional' decisions. This low profile helped her build up rapport with the teachers and won their trust.
5. She offered practical help: The major difficulty which teachers faced at that time was a shortage of teaching materials. She suggested ways and means of finding them. She also helped them to get access to A-V materials owned by other social service agencies.

It is not possible to assess precisely the degree of her contribution but she did play an important part in establishing the change in School A. This case of successful facilitating work affirms the assertion made by Cox (1983),

'The most helpful (activities from external assisters) for *teachers* were efforts to actually work through the specifics of using the practices in the classroom. This kind of assistance is very different from being passively trained in a workshop setting' (p.12).

It also confirms the view of Clark et al. (1984) that personal and practical help is useful and can help to meet resocialization needs in the change process.

VII. DIFFICULTIES TEACHERS FACED AND THEIR SOLUTIONS:

PRACTICALITY AND PRAGMATISM

In implementing a curriculum change, the users are bound to face some obstacles. In this study, it has been found that in teachers' eyes the difficulties were mostly related to classroom activities, i.e. classroom management and teaching materials. Table 6.2 sums up teachers' perception of their problems.

Table 6.2 Difficulties which teachers faced

	School	A	B		C	
	SS	S	SS	S	SS	S
lack of teaching materials	4	2	1	2	3	1
skills (discipline, classroom management, communication)	5	1	1	1	3	2
lack of professional knowledge (moral education)	2	1	1	1	0	0
designing the curriculum	0	1	1	2	1	1
finding good teachers	0	0	0	0	0	1
coordinating the change	1	0	0	0	0	0

(KEY: SS: strongly stressed
S: stressed)

Given the scarcity of resources available to moral education teachers in the early 1980s (for details, see Chapter Two), it is not at all surprising to find that teachers complained about the shortage of teaching materials. Teachers in schools A and C, being pioneers in this field, faced a tougher battle than their counterparts in School B. The preference for pupil-centered activities meant that teachers had to go through a painstaking process of gathering 'piecemeal' materials from magazines, newspapers and the limited A-V materials provided by other agencies (e.g. the Family Planning Association). Such work is extremely time-consuming and tedious even for textbook writers and professional curriculum developers; it is even more so for full-time teachers who were teaching, on average, thirty periods a week.

Comparatively speaking, this problem was less acute in School B, as when this school developed moral education, more teaching materials were available in the form of textbooks and collections of reference materials. The Education Department had also collected the curricula and teaching materials designed and used in some schools and put these in the Moral Education Teaching Centre. Consequently, teachers in School B had fewer grumbles about this problem.

The second commonly quoted difficulty is the problem of classroom management. The frequency at which this was mentioned reflects vividly the teachers' concern with disciplinary problems. The problem of managing pupils in moral education sessions and how teachers dealt with it has been discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

The difficulties discussed above are, in nature, 'practical' (as defined by Gauthier (1963) and Reid (1983)). Other problems which curriculum developers and educators are very much concerned with (see for example the Farmington Trust Moral Education Curriculum Development led by Wilson) were not raised by the teachers at all. Such questions include:-

What should the aims of moral education be?

What theoretical framework should one use in teaching moral education?

What type of teaching strategy is appropriate?

What psychological theory should be used to structure the progression of the content of the curriculum?

As attention was concentrated on the 'concrete, practical' problems, teachers did not go deeply into the sources of their problems. The two major problems the teachers raised were actually manifestations of underlying problems including lack of professional training, insufficient professional knowledge of the field and the controversial nature of moral education which were not mentioned by the teachers.

The solutions teachers adopted reflected their concern for immediate problems and their restricted insight into them. The way the curriculum material problem was handled shed light on this. Some teachers, e.g. Mr. Wan in School A, admitted the themes of lessons were sometimes twisted to match the teaching materials available. Some teachers purposely included some topics and activities in the moral education curriculum which did not require them to collect teaching materials. For example, in School A, in the 1980-81 Form Two Moral Education Curriculum, among the twenty-five topics, four were on competitions (Chinese Calligraphy competition, handicraft, cross-word puzzle, number game). When teachers decided to include these 'topics' in the moral education programme they had not had any clear idea of what the aims and purposes of these activities might be. Teachers put them in because this was the best way to occupy the time (the vice-principal, interview). In School C, the Guidance Mistress and the Head of Moral Education also admitted that they occasionally altered the topics when they encountered difficulties in finding teaching materials. Similarly, one of the reasons why the 'project method' was adopted in the sixth form in School B was to get round the daunting task of finding the massive amount of teaching materials required.

In this approach, students were assigned to collect materials on certain topics and present them in lessons while the teacher acted as commentator (Head of Religious Studies, interview).

In looking for teaching materials, teachers in all the schools studied, relied heavily on the resources immediately available, for example, stocks in the school. The search strategies adopted for collecting teaching materials were mostly 'passive'. Sources were mostly limited to the persons and friends whom they knew personally. There was no organised, long-term planning among the teachers. They had neither tried to group themselves to facilitate the collection process nor established long-term links with other agencies to ensure a continuous flow of materials into their schools. The teachers' major concern was usually to find materials which could help them teach the topics which they had to deal with in the near future.

Researchers have postulated that teachers can learn a lot from their colleagues (see for example, Fullan, 1982; Showers, 1985). This study, however, found that the teachers seldom exchanged opinions on professional matters. In School A, among the eight teachers interviewed, only two claimed that there had been some interaction with colleagues. In School B, there had not been any significant, planned coordination and exchange of views among the committees involved in moral education work. Similarly, in School C, interaction among the three major committees, namely the academic, guidance and discipline committees, on moral education affairs was minimal.

A fundamental solution to all these problems would be to equip teachers professionally. But only a very small proportion of teachers took in-service training courses (see Table 6.3). Besides the lack of training opportunities, limited support from the school (because of the lack of resources) and the teachers' perception of the usefulness of attending training courses were also important reasons for the less than enthusiastic reaction to staff development. The following view was quite common among the teachers,

'When you ask me whether I looked for books on the teaching methods of moral education, my first reaction was whether reading those books would help me in developing the topics (to be taught in moral education).' (Mr. Ma, School B, interview)

What is revealed by this quotation is that when teachers attempt to brush up their understanding and professional knowledge, whether through attending training courses or home-reading, their concern is whether the efforts will be of practical benefit to their teaching.

		senior teachers/ key teachers	other teachers
professional training	Yes	1	1
	No	5	20
in-service short courses	Yes	2	3
	No	4	18

Table 6.3 The number of teachers having professional training and in-service training in moral education

The in-service training courses teachers took were seldom on the 'theoretical aspects' of moral education such as the philosophical and psychological issues in the teaching and learning of morality. Instead, teachers chose courses which, though marginally related to moral education, such as counselling, improving communication skills and techniques in organising group activities, could enhance their classroom effectiveness.

The findings paint a fairly grim picture of the ability of school personnel to solve implementation problems. They were very concerned with immediate problems. Their ability to look for solutions to the problems was limited, with a strong reliance on the personal network. Many of them carried out their work in moral education without seeking to equip themselves professionally, which was very likely to handicap their ability to cope with the difficulties. However, when one looks deeper into these patterns, teachers were only being practical and pragmatic. To break through these constraints, much more work has to be done by the curriculum developers, the central agency and other related agencies. This will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

VIII. THE INVOLVEMENT OF PARENTS.

Involving parents in curriculum change has been strongly recommended (for example, see Fullan, 1982; Reid et al., 1987). Some schools, in implementing curriculum change, are conscious of this (for example, the schools studied by Dalton, 1988).

Moral education has always been considered a sensitive and potentially controversial curricular area (Williams & Wright, 1977; Pring, 1982). Arguably, it should, therefore be carefully handled and parents should be involved in the implementation process (David, 1983). The involvement of parents can be at various forms and levels (Meighan, 1989), ranging from informing parents about the content of the change, to inviting them to make suggestions, to collecting feedback from parents, to involving parents in home-based teaching and so on. Plant (1987) has reported that in developing personal and social education in her school, parents were informed and involved. In Puerto Rico, the central agency, in developing a values education programme, purposely published a booklet to inform parents about the curriculum change and 'teacher-trainers were instructed to hold parent meetings to explain and discuss the contents of the booklet' (Canon, 1988, p.19).

The findings of this study however, are in sharp contrast to these expectations. The principals and teachers in all the schools studied did not make any specific attempts to involve parents in the curriculum change. The interaction with parents organised in schools A and C concerning moral education was restricted to parents' evenings (or days) and publishing 'school news'. On parents' days in School C, the Guidance Committee ran an exhibition, aimed at informing and educating parents on ways of handling their children's problems (the Guidance Mistress, interview). The "column for parents" in the "School News" published by School A also had a similar focus. The main purpose of all these activities was the education of the parents which was considered to be beneficial to the effectiveness of the moral education programme. This line of thought is similar to

Smith's (1982) view that parents lay the base of moral education and they must work alongside the educators.

Teachers who were responsible for moral education development in the schools acknowledged the potential advantages in involving parents (the Head of Religious Studies, School B; the Guidance Mistress, School C, interview). But there was neither pressure or inducement from the central agency or the school authority to build up connections with the parents. The absence of parental involvement was not peculiar to moral education. Parents were not invited to participate in school matters, neither in administration nor curriculum work at all (Llewellyn et al., 1982). During my field work period, I found, as Connell (1985) reveals in Australia and Feiman-Newser & Floden's (1986) in the United States, teachers only interacted with parents when students had very serious discipline or personal problems. The fact that there were no 'parent-teacher' associations in any of the schools I studied further substantiates the point that parental involvement in school was very rare. The researcher is not aware of any research on why parents are not actively involved in schools in Hong Kong, but from the following quotation, we can get a brief idea of the dilemma of some school administrators,

'I would like to form a PTA (parent-teacher association) in this school. But there is strong discouragement from various sources... With the exception of the Education Officer, no one supports this idea, including the organisation running this school. I do not have the confidence to break through it. I think their (parents') view is very important in running the school. We have to admit that the children (the pupils) are theirs. They should have a say. In moral education, they definitely should have a very strong say' (the principal, School C, interview).

The view that involving parents is 'inviting trouble' is not strange when one takes into consideration the phenomenon that there is, 'strict and still nicely accepted separation of roles between parents and teachers, and between home and school' (Llewellyn et al., 1982, p.18). Most moral education teachers took a view in line with that reviewed by Feiman-Newser & Floden (1986),

'Teachers see the ideal relationship with parents as one in which the parents support teacher practices, carry out teacher request and do not attempt to interfere with teacher plans (Lightfoot, 1978; Lortie, 1975; McPherson, 1972)' (p.509).

Teachers and the principal of School B, for example, believed that as long as they could make the students obedient and get them to study hard, parents were content and did not care what type of curriculum was adopted or what teaching methods were used (the principal, the Head of Religious Studies, interview). It seems that, in general, parents trusted and highly respected the 'professional' judgement of the teachers. Parents' adopted a 'non-interference' stance and seldom complained about curriculum matters. The 'margin of tolerance' (see Ball, 1987) of parents towards the work of the school authority and teachers was very high in Hong Kong. Furthermore, as Connell (1985) points out,

'Giving parents a greater say in the control of schools calls into question the claim to professional autonomy and perhaps more damagingly exposes the weaknesses of teachers' work in areas where they do not actually have full control or effective solutions (for example, on discipline)' (p.201).

In such an atmosphere, why should teachers and administrators take the unnecessary trouble of involving the parents in changing the curriculum?

VIII. CONCLUSION

The implementation process in the schools studied was full of difficulties and problems. The strong subject identity among the teachers, the acute shortage of resources and support, the nature of the change all contributed to the difficulties. Curriculum users, by adopting a practical stance, have adapted the change to fit in with the existing system. This, although it affected the degree of real change, contributed to the 'stabilization' of the change. In the following chapter, a more in-depth discussion of these issues will be presented.

FOOTNOTES

- 6.1: *The term 'school authority' is used to describe the principal and the senior management members of a school. The views and policy stated by them represent the policy of the school.*
- 6.2: *'School organisation' is the group or association which organises and runs the school. In Hong Kong, a very large number of schools are run by charities or religious organisations with financial support from the government.*

CHAPTER SEVEN

FORCES INFLUENCING THE IMPLEMENTATION WORK

I. INTRODUCTION

The implementation process and the implemented curriculum described in the previous two chapters reflect the strong influence of both the 'culture of teaching' and the political interaction among various interest groups, on the way the curriculum is structured, organised and developed. It is found that in a school-centred development strategy, the school personnel studied adapt, rather than faithfully pursue, the official recommendations. Their curriculum decisions tend to be practical, pragmatic and flexible. Despite sharing a common teacher culture, curriculum users in schools are not homogeneous in ideology and beliefs. Divergent views and conflicts of varying degrees are evident. These conflicts are either resolved or suppressed to a level which allows the schools to function without much difficulty through political interactions.

I. CURRICULUM USERS' DECISION-MAKING AND THE CULTURE OF TEACHING

The official policy for the development of moral education in Hong Kong is to allow the school authorities to decide their curriculum. The Education Department has neither applied pressure to the school authorities to adopt the curriculum change nor organised any form of supervision and guidance. The fact that the Inspectors refrained from giving any concrete comments and suggestions for changes to the schools when they inspected them illustrates the degree of autonomy school personnel enjoyed. The nature and subsequently the outcome of the change were therefore shaped by school personnel curriculum decisions. The major curriculum decisions which have been reported in the previous two chapters are summarised in the table below so that common features can be identified. The left column shows the key features of the curriculum decisions made while the right one sums up the major considerations and forces shaping the decisions.

Table 7.1 Major forces influencing the characteristics of the implemented curriculum and the implementation process

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMPLEMENTED CURRICULUM	FORCES INFLUENCING THESE CHARACTERISTICS
<u>Aims</u> - very little discussion among curriculum users - not much concerned	- teachers were concerned with teaching activities and content
<u>Structure</u> - the recommended integrated approach was defied - specialisation of moral education teaching team was adopted	- teachers were seen as, and also saw themselves as, subject specialists. Moral education was considered as an extra-duty - the integrated approach is considered as intruding into the academic work
<u>Teaching strategy</u> - the content-based strategy was dominant	- teachers were used to 'passing' knowledge to pupils - teachers have not received training in moral education
<u>Teaching methods</u> - pupil-centred methods, e.g. use of A-V materials widely employed	- teachers' prime concern is classroom management. A-V materials are used to keep down the noise level in class.
<u>Content</u> - the main criterion used in content-selection was that of meeting the needs of the pupils with a special focus on tackling pupils' problems	- teachers were limited by their experience. Their concern was focused on classroom matters and school business
<u>Evaluation</u> - no attempts at all to 'objectively' evaluate their progress and work - relied heavily on intuition and beliefs	- difficulties in evaluating moral education - no forces pushing school personnel to carry out evaluation work
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS	FORCES INFLUENCING THESE CHARACTERISTICS
<u>Objection</u> - a large proportion of teachers did not want to teach the programme	- because of their strong subject identity, teachers treated moral education as an extra-duty
<u>Administrative control vs. teachers' autonomy</u> - the school authorities failed to secure co-operation and high quality of work from the teachers	- teachers were kings and queens in the classroom - they had a high level of autonomy
<u>Difficulties identified by the teachers</u> - the two major difficulties mentioned by the teachers were: - lack of teaching materials - problems in classroom management	- teachers were concerned more with practical, 'concrete' problems - their insights were limited by their experience
<u>Solutions adopted by teachers in tackling the difficulties</u> - there were no long-term co-ordinated efforts	- teachers relied heavily on resources immediately available - professional interaction among colleagues was limited

The following statements, relating to the teachers in this study, can be generated from the data:

1. The teachers enjoyed a high level of autonomy in the classroom.
2. The teachers' concerns were to a large extent restricted to classroom activities and school business.
3. The teachers had a strong subject identity.
4. Academic teaching was seen by most of the teachers as the most important single task.
5. The teachers were used to traditional teaching style characterised by 'passing' knowledge to the pupils in a teacher-centred way.
6. Maintaining classroom order was a prime concern of the teachers.
7. The teachers respected their colleagues' professional judgment and privacy. Professional interactions between teachers were limited.
8. When making decisions, the teachers relied heavily on their intuition and experience derived from their own work.

These seemingly unlinked statements have one common thread: they are very much in line with the traits of the culture of teaching found in North America (for example, Elbaz, 1983; Lieberman & Miller, 1984), Australia (for example, Connell, 1985), and the U.K. (for example, Woods, 1979; Hargreaves, 1980). Before I discuss the relationship between the culture of teaching and implementation, the term 'culture of teaching' needs clarification. 'Culture' is a word with many different definitions (Deal, 1985). Deal & Kennedy describe it in the following way,

'pragmatically culture is an informal understanding of the way "we do things around here" or "what keeps the herd moving roughly west". The elements of culture are shared values and beliefs, heroes and heroines, rituals and priestesses, storytellers, spies and gossips' (1983, p.14).

Deal points out that culture,

'consists of patterns of thought, behaviour and artifacts that symbolize and give meaning to the workplace' (1985, p.605).

Stenhouse describes culture in the following way,

'Culture consists of a complex of shared understandings which serve as a medium through which individual human minds interact. Culture, then, is a matter of ideas, thoughts and feelings' (1967, p.16) (quoted in Rudduck, 1977, p.3).

Based on these definitions, the culture of teaching can be described as the work practices and the manner in which teachers carry out their duties. It includes not just behaviour, but also the values, beliefs, ideology and meanings which most teachers hold. Some researchers have used other terms to describe the culture of teaching. For example, Hargreaves (1980) coins the term 'the occupational culture of teachers'; Lieberman & Miller (1984) use 'teachers' culture'. No matter what terms they use, they basically have the same thing in mind.

Views about whether there is a uniform culture among teachers diverge. After reviewing literature on teacher culture, Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986) declare,

'Despite the diversity of teaching culture, research on norms for interaction, occupational

rewards and teachers' knowledge has found shared ways of thinking that set groups of teachers apart from the general population' (p.515).

A. *BE PRACTICAL*

Lieberman & Miller (1984) have identified two major traits of teachers' culture: be practical & be private. Gauthier (1963), Harnett & Naish (1976), Reid (1978, 1983) define 'practical' as the opposite of 'theoretical'. Lieberman & Miller (1984) extend the definition of practical so that it becomes the opposite of theoretical and idealistic. What are the characteristics of being practical? First, teachers are concerned with practical rather than theoretical issues. Practical problems, unlike theoretical problems are those which require action (Gauthier, 1963). Secondly, teachers are concerned more that their work goes smoothly than with the achievement of ideals. Thirdly, they use 'practical knowledge', i.e. knowledge drawn from their own experience, in their decision making.

1. CONCERN WITH PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

The reason why moral education was initiated and adopted in schools also substantiates this point. The major reason for developing moral education was the serious disciplinary problems which had, in various ways, hampered the smooth functioning of schools. Moral education was regarded as a possible effective means of tackling this problem.

Teachers are seldom asked to justify their teaching practices. Moral education teachers focused their attention on learning activities, teaching methods and content, rather than on aims in the planning of curricula and lessons. They gave no in-depth consideration to the aims of teaching moral education. Aims, goals and purposes were seldom discussed in the subject committee meetings. When asked about the aims of their moral education work, teachers failed to give a clear answer. This is in line with Wakeman's (1984) observation. Ungood-Thomas (1975) argued that teachers' failure to understand the aims of moral education is due partly to educational philosophers' inability to provide clearly expressed and comprehensible conceptions and recommendations to teachers. But studies show that teachers of all subjects begin with 'content' and 'teaching activities' (Clark & Yinger, 1977). It seems that a major reason behind this phenomenon is that teachers are more concerned about 'practical' classroom activities in curriculum planning.

Emphasis on classroom teaching work such as learning activities was also reflected in teachers' choice of training courses. Training courses which centred on how to design teaching activities were preferred to theoretical ones in which philosophical issues were discussed. These cultural traits of teachers' work partly led to the lack of theoretical framework of the curriculum designed by the teachers.

Some researchers have pointed out similar phenomena. Cooper, for example, writes, '... it is well-known that teachers do not begin the instructional process with rational goal setting but with needs and activities; they rely heavily on intuition' (1988, p.48).

2. SMOOTH RUNNING OF THE BASIC TASKS

In this study, teachers are found to be strongly influenced by these cultural traits. One aspect of being practical is that teachers try to ensure that things function smoothly (Bullough, 1987), rather than to pursue far-reaching ideals (Lieberman & Miller, 1984). For their work to go smoothly, teachers must deal with the basic, immediate tasks. When the recommended curriculum change gets in the way of accomplishing the basic tasks, teachers either reject the proposed change or adapt it so as to minimise the 'undesirable effects'. In the following paragraphs, the discussion will be centred on the relationship between this aspect of being practical and the implementation of the change. Most teachers are trained and recruited as professionals who are supposed to possess expertise in teaching certain subjects. A basic requirement of their duties is, therefore, that they ensure that their students acquire academic knowledge in their subject. The most obvious criterion of success in learning is performance in public examinations. In Hong Kong, the prime importance of public examinations to the career of pupils further enhances the importance of this task. Teachers' status in school is often very much associated with the academic achievement of their students. In public examinations, it is academic knowledge rather than values which is tested (see for example Lam, 1984). Although teachers did not consider moral education unimportant and acknowledged the desirability of developing it in schools, in actual practice, the teaching of academic knowledge with the ultimate aim of pushing pupils through the public examination was treated as their single most important responsibility. To most of the teachers in the schools studied, moral education was of subsidiary importance to academic teaching. Even in School B where most teachers were receptive to the change and the school authority stressed the importance of 'spiritual development', teachers did not regard moral education as their most important duty (Head of Religious Studies, interview). Developing moral education was perceived by most teachers as in conflict with the mastery of academic content especially if the integrated approach was adopted. It was thought that the amount of time for imparting academic knowledge would have to be cut. As a result, the curriculum change was either ignored or only undertaken half-heartedly.

Such a value judgment as to the relatively low importance of moral education was also found among the schools' senior management. To them, cognitive-intellectual teaching always had a higher priority than moral education work. Such a stance was clearly spelt out by the principal in School C who stated that academic teaching was the number one task. In School B, the school authority decided to cut the curriculum time for values teaching when it faced the dilemma of sacrificing either the academic or the moral education curriculum. The principal commented,

'We hope to keep them (the academic and the moral curriculum areas) at the same level of importance. But when we have to make a decision of sacrificing one, "academic" always wins' (interview).

Another 'basic' demand on teachers is the maintenance of order in the classroom. As Woods (1979) asserts, classroom management is the most obvious feature perceived as positively related to effective teaching. The degree of quiet orderliness in a classroom is an indicator of success in controlling disciplinary problems (Denscombe, 1980). The present study finds that teachers are highly concerned about keeping the students quiet in the classroom, although they have pointed out

that they rationally query the relationship between quietness and effective learning. The immediacy and importance of controlling pupils strongly influences teachers' choices of teaching methods and content. Most of the teachers involved in moral education used audio-visual materials and pupil-centred activities in the classroom more as a means of keeping the pupils under control than enhancing learning effectiveness.

The reason why discussion was seldom used by the teachers in classroom teaching is also related to the concern about disciplinary problems. The moral education curriculum leaders in School A repeatedly asserted the desirability of discussion as a teaching method in moral education. But in practice, most teachers did not adopt it. Pupils were used to absorbing knowledge passively in the classroom (Miss Tan, School C; Mr. Ma, School B, interview). They did not know how to behave when facing a sudden shift to more open-ended discussions. To make the discussion a success, pupils needed to review their deep beliefs and to discuss them frankly with their fellow classmates and teachers. Many pupils, quite naturally, felt uneasy about this and unwilling to participate. Pupils feared that teachers might unfavourably judge their personality and moral standards if their values were exposed. This problem was particularly serious in cases of sensitive issues such as pre-marital sex. Dividing pupils into smaller groups might ease this problem but it led to difficulties in supervision. Pupils, who were usually forced to sit quietly and listen for most of the time in school, took advantage of the 'free discussion' time. Some pupils labelled moral education lessons as 'free periods'. Having to teach forty pupils in a class, teachers found it very difficult to supervise all the groups and ensure that they were all doing the tasks assigned. As the classroom observations showed, it was not uncommon to find that in small group discussions pupils chatted about soccer, fashion and TV programmes rather than the topic(s) assigned. Moreover, forty pupils jammed in a small classroom made the physical environment extremely noisy when pupils were involved in discussion. These problems in classroom management forced many teachers to abandon this teaching method and resort to methods which were more predictable and effective in keeping down the noise level.

'Practical' teachers are also satisfied with a less than ideal situation (Woods, 1979). The defying of the integrated approach, the preference for the use of A-V materials to lecturing and discussion, are examples of how school personnel adapted the change to the context. The abandonment of attempts to increase the teaching time and extend moral education to the senior forms in School C by the Guidance Committee further substantiates this point. The Guidance Mistress and other committee members, on the one hand, were aware of the weaknesses and problems of having only one moral education lesson a week and the positive effects of establishing moral education lessons in the senior forms. They were confident that they had enough teaching materials for both 'horizontal' (increase of teaching time) and 'vertical' (extension to senior forms) expansion. But they did not press hard for it and settled for the status quo because they feared that they would not get sufficient support from their colleagues and the principal.

School personnel showed considerable flexibility in their work in maintaining a balance between ideals and survival. For example, teachers in School A reported that in the early days of implementation the content and purposes of topics in the planned curriculum were sometimes altered to fit in with the teaching materials they could find. In schools B and C, similar acts were mentioned by teachers in the interviews.

The findings of this research, namely that the teachers emphasized the importance of classroom management, the teaching of academic knowledge, and focussed on learning activities and content in curriculum planning to the neglect of purposes and aims, are in line with other research findings on the culture of teaching. The lower status of the non-academic curriculum, moral education being part of it, has been identified by other researchers. Goodson (1983), for example, finds that pedagogical and utilitarian knowledge are of lower status than academic knowledge in the eyes of school personnel. Reid et al. (1987) report that pastoral care is overshadowed in importance by the academic curriculum. Teachers are used to separating out the 'academic' from the 'pastoral' or 'tutorial'. 'Cognition reigns supreme' (Brown, 1986, p.6). Similarly, Stradling finds that social education,

'tends to be perceived as low status by many pupils, parents and colleagues because it is often non-examined, seems to be non-academic, often has no departmental base, the staff involved are often "drafted" on to the course because they happen to be free on the timetable, and sometimes students are "creamed off" to do more academic and specialist subjects' (1986, p.23).

Hargreaves et al. (1988) and Courtman (1990) have also noted the low status of personal and social education in the school curriculum.

In Hong Kong, Siu and Lo's study of principals', teachers', parents' and students' perception of good teachers confirm the low status of moral education. They report,

'The frequency count from the returned questionnaires showed that the five most perceived characteristics of a good teacher ... in a descending order, were (1) sense of responsibility, (2) ability to explain the subject matter clearly and concisely, (3) fairness to students, (4) subject matter competency, and (5) comprehensive and comprehensible instruction' (1987, p.58).

The higher status of academic knowledge can be partly attributed to the fact that ability in teaching academic subjects is related to the status of the teachers. Connell (1985) finds,

'the dignity of teaching is very much bound up with the ability to teach your subject properly, that is with the academic curriculum' (p.173).

Strong subject identity among teachers is related to the training teachers received. Hamilton explains,

'At the end of a year's obligatory subject-based postgraduate training they are certificated not to 'teach' (as in England) but to teach specified subjects. Thus, there is a strong compartmentalization of subjects, strong subject loyalties induced, and a wide range of different subject ideologies allowed' (1976, p.198).

On the discipline management side, Dunham (1977), Woods (1979), Shavelson & Stern (1981), Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986) and Nias (1987b) all observe the importance teachers attach to

keeping pupils under control. The disturbing behaviour of pupils is a major source of stress in schools (Dunham, 1977). The neglect of aims in planning curricula has been identified by Taylor (1970) and confirmed by many researchers. Shavelson & Stern (1981) sum up,

'Research on teacher planning has found that the instructional activity is the basic instructional unit of planning (Clark & Yinger, 1979; Peterson et al., 1978; Smith & Sendelbach, 1979; Yinger, 1977; Zahorik, 1975) and action in the classroom...' (p.477)

Similarly, Connell (1985) notes,

'No matter how attractive a proposal is in principle, if it makes it more difficult for you to manage a classroom, if it increases the emotional pressure on you, or it adds to the workload, then you do not do it' (p.181).

The experience of the Integrated Studies Project also shows,

'The teachers were mainly concerned with the immediate problems facing them in the classroom. They were grateful for the ideas and the materials, and often were convinced that integrated studies was both educationally desirable and liable to motivate children more than traditional subject teaching. But their main concern was with concrete problems of discipline and the maintenance and assessment of standards of work. Principles of integration, the niceties of team teaching, and the commitment to feedback experiences to the project were often ignored' (Shipman et al., 1974, p.87).

3. USING PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE

Another aspect of teachers' practicality is that they use 'practical knowledge' rather than educational theory and research in their decision making (Hargreaves, 1980). Teachers' practical knowledge comes basically from their experience (Taylor, 1970; Hargreaves, 1980; Elbaz, 1983; Nias, 1987a). Theoretical knowledge, though not excluded completely, is far less important. Teachers' knowledge is situation specific. Connell (1985) describes other characteristics of teachers' knowledge in this way,

'...it is extremely difficult for a teacher to describe her knowledge of how to teach, to express it in formulas. Much of it takes the form of intuitive decisions about what to do at a given moment in a given classroom ...' (p.171)

Decisions by the teachers are very often quick and are based on a less than rich set of information.

Hartnett & Naish (1976), based on Emmet's discussion of 'bounded rationality' assert,

'practical judgments are made and have to be made where the relevant empirical data about situations and consequences of proposed courses of action are always less than complete' (p.103).

Similarly, Nias (1987a) writes,

'Teachers are subjected to a constant barrage of information, on all sensory channels, to which they must respond sensitively,... and swiftly, with little time for sustained rational thought' (p.3).

Shipman et al., in their study of the implementation of the Integrated Studies Project (1974), discover,

'The teachers were involved in their own problems and defined the project out of their own experience in their own classrooms. As a consequence, the basic principles behind the project were usually misunderstood and often misconsidered.' (p.47)

These assertions, although applicable to the cases studied, reflect only part of the picture. Teachers did not attempt to explore and acquire 'objective' information about the situation, context and conditions before making curriculum decisions. Subjective interpretations of the situation, intuition and experience are the key 'data' on which their decisions are based. The way the content of the curriculum was designed illustrates these characteristics. While the main criterion adopted by teachers in designing the curriculum was that of meeting the needs of the pupils, no objective review of the needs of the pupils was conducted. Other possible sources of information such as parents and academics were not explored. The teaching staff also did not refer to any books on moral education.

B. BE PRIVATE

The second key feature of the culture of teaching is the emphasis on 'privacy'. Teachers respect strongly the importance and sacredness of teachers' autonomy in classroom teaching. In this study, teachers did not want to intervene in the work of their colleagues. In cases where teachers were not satisfied with the quality of the lesson plans designed by their colleagues, they did not inform them or ask them to make modifications or improvements. Instead, they kept quiet and designed a new plan for their own use. Data, both from interviews and observations paint a picture of teachers virtually working in isolation. Discussion on professional matters in the staff room, corridor, canteen or after school was rare. This great independence and reluctance to interfere found amongst curriculum users deprived them of chances of learning from colleagues. The team work system developed in the schools studied failed in fulfilling the staff development function.

The principals and the senior teachers who were responsible for curriculum planning in the school, were also reluctant to interfere directly with teachers' decisions. They, just as Kutnick (1989) found, let teachers decide the teaching approach in the classroom. Teachers were given the autonomy of deciding the content, the teaching strategy and the teaching methods of the curriculum.

Researchers on teachers' work and life in North America, England & Australia have reported similar characteristics. Teachers typically work in isolation (Hargreaves, 1980; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Webb & Ashton, 1987). The disadvantage is that interaction between teachers over professional matters is limited (Vars, 1979; Hammersley, 1981; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Nias, 1987a).

At the classroom level, teachers' autonomy is very high (King, 1970; Hoyle, 1975; Hanson, 1976-77). In the U.K. and in North America, Hoyle (1975) and Leithwood et al. (1982) have both found that teachers enjoyed high autonomy in classroom teaching affairs. Ross sums up,

'There is accumulating evidence ... that the principal's influence on instruction does not extend beyond defining in the broadest terms the scope of what is taught. It is a hard fact of administrative life that the curricular decision-making of individual classroom teachers is virtually impervious to the impact of the principal' (1982, p.54).

Other interest groups such as parents, administrators and colleagues hesitate to violate the rule of privacy (Bullough, 1987).

The strong influence of the culture of teaching on the implementation process and its results identified in this study is in congruence with the assertions by Hargreaves (1980),

‘(Teachers’ culture is) a medium through which many innovations and reforms must pass; yet in that passage they frequently become shaped, transformed or resisted in ways that were unintended and unanticipated’ (p.126).

To conclude, the low status of moral education meant that teachers had negative attitudes to it and did not wish to become involved with it. This impeded the progress of the implementation work. There were simply not enough teachers who were willing to devote much energy and time to the implementation work.

The proposed change was greatly modified by the teaching culture. When compared with the situation before the adoption of the curriculum change, the teaching methods and the teaching philosophy of most of the teachers were very much the same. In other words, their values, beliefs and ideology in relation to moral education were still similar to the traditional schools of thought rather than the more progressive one advocated in the General Guidelines. The essence of the change was not achieved.

III. THE IMPACT OF LACK OF SUPPORT

Views about the possibility of changing a culture vary.

‘...Some take a natural-systems point of view and conclude that the culture of a form is the natural outgrowth of its particular time and place and is not subject to human attempts at manipulation, while others assert that critical features of organisational culture may be systematically altered by a determined management’ (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1988, p.243).

Furthermore, the culture of teaching, though a powerful force influencing teachers’ decision-making, does not *determine* all teachers’ reactions to change. Woods (1979) asserts,

‘On the one hand, there is the press of powerful forces in society, but on the other, a range of choices for the individual teacher. In the interstices of the prevailing system ... lie the opportunities for change’ (p.237)

In the past decade,

‘research on the culture of teaching has begun to replace the image of a passive teacher moulded by bureaucracy and buffeted by external forces with an image of the teacher as an active agent, constructing perspectives and choosing actions’ (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986, p.523).

There are possible ways of counter-acting the influence or minimizing some of the undesirable impacts of the culture of teaching. Some commentators have suggested that schools should promote a development culture (Holly, 1986). Teachers can be helped to change their values, beliefs and ideology about their work through staff development work (Lieberman & Miller, 1984, 1990). Moreover, new cultural traits can be induced by modifying the conditions of their work (Lieberman & Miller, 1990).

Before looking deeply into the potential of and possible ways of modifying the impact of cultural traits, it is necessary to understand how the teaching culture evolves.

No conclusive research evidence about the genesis of the culture of teaching is available (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). However, the context of teaching (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986), school structure (Bullough, 1987; Nias, 1987b; Gitlin, 1987) and wider cultural values (Bullough, 1987) and ecological conditions (Zeichner, 1987) are identified as forces influencing the ways teachers acquire their knowledge, values and beliefs about the profession, and the development of teachers' cultural traits. Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986) note that schools expect their teachers, 'to improve standardized test scores, cover prescribed curricula at a set pace and maintain an orderly classroom. Administrators and parents pay more attention to report cards and test scores than to whether students understand what they are being taught. In most schools, teachers are judged by how well their students do on standardized tests and how quietly they move through the halls, not by how well teachers know them' (p.517).

This obviously stresses the importance of academic teaching and discipline management.

Similarly, Gitlin (1987) points out that because principals do not have much time and base their judgment of teachers' performance on one or two brief classroom observations, the emphasis is on 'easily observable aspects of teaching such as how quiet the students are...' (p.109-110). This leads teachers to be very concerned about classroom management.

On the other hand, the cellular structure of schools has generated a low task interdependence among teachers (Ross, 1980) and a norm of non-interference among teachers (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986 ; Nias, 1987b) as well as discouraging organisation integration (Timar & Kirp, 1988). Isolation and lack of professional interaction are the results.

The context of the classroom also affects the teaching culture (Nias, 1987a). Based on assertion by Doyle (1979) & Jackson (1968), Yinger (1979) concludes that the two dominant features of the classroom environment are 'complexity and unpredictability'. Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986) elaborate,

'Classrooms are complicated and busy settings serving a variety of purposes and containing a variety of processes and events. Teachers must manage groups, deal with individual needs and responses, maintain records, evaluate student abilities, promote learning, establish routines. the immediacy and complexity of classroom life have been linked with the preference of many teachers for single explanations and practical solutions and with their resistance to proposals for change' (p.516).

The unpredictability of classroom teaching means that teachers have to respond flexibly (MacDonald & Leithwood, 1982).

Besides the above factors, the characteristics of the working environment, the nature and characteristics of teaching and learning also contribute to the cultural traits (Lieberman & Miller, 1984) described in the above section. Education is 'ill-defined', often with multiple, conflicting goals (McIntyre, 1977; Lieberman & Miller, 1984; Nespor, 1987). The links between teaching and learning are uncertain, and the knowledge-base of teaching is weak (Lieberman & Miller, 1984).

Curricular matters are also uncertain because of:

1. 'ambiguity about the grounds on which a decision ought to be based'
2. 'uniqueness of the context to which the design is to be applied'
3. 'intrinsic goal conflicts'
4. 'impossibility of knowing whether the course we adopt is in fact the best in the circumstances' (Reid, 1983, p.5).

These characteristics of teaching and the uncertainty of curriculum matters induce teachers to adopt a practical stance in their work (Lieberman & Miller, 1984).

Some of the factors influencing the culture of teaching, e.g. the uncertain nature of teaching, are virtually unchangeable. But many others can be altered to encourage teachers to develop new perceptual habits and cultural traits. For example, the rigid departmentalisation of school structure can be broken down to facilitate inter-departmental cooperation and collegial interaction. By setting up a supportive environment for teachers to exchange views and be exposed to the challenge of other views, the norm of non-interference may be broken down (Nias, 1987b).

Another effective and practical means of counter-acting the conservative elements of the teaching culture is to help staff to develop new values and beliefs through effective staff development.

In this study, there were a number of teachers, who were able to break the shackles of the cultural traits. A case in point is Mr. Sung, the Head of Social Education in School A. Having benefited from training in university and in-service training courses, he improved his understanding of the issues involved in moral education. This helped him, in turn, to develop a more progressive moral teaching programme in his school. Miss Chau of School B, also reported a change in her views towards the conservative teaching strategy of passing on a set of values to students after attending a training course. These two examples suggest that through attending high quality courses, teachers are capable of establishing or developing an ideology more conducive to the implementation of change. Unfortunately, high quality staff development programmes were seldom available to the school personnel involved in the curriculum change. Even when training courses were provided, the school authorities did not have the resources to give their staff time-off to attend them as no extra staff were provided by the central agency. Those who were interested in attending training courses had to do it in their own spare time. The school authorities also did not have the resources to organise intensive, large-scale in-school staff development courses. In School A, the principal and senior teachers responsible for the innovation did appreciate the need for staff development and tried to organise in-school seminars and other activities to broaden teachers' exposure (for details, see Chapter Six). However, handicapped by limited resources, these activities, were unavoidably piecemeal and short. Teachers were pressed to attend in their own time. In such a situation, the teachers' attitudes towards these staff development functions were less desirable and positive even before the programmes started, than the organisers hoped. Furthermore, as teachers' beliefs 'are relatively stable... when beliefs change, it is more likely to be a matter of a conversion or gestalt shift than the result of argumentation or a marshalling of evidence' (Nespor, 1987, p.321), the occasional, short courses run by the school or agencies outside school failed to achieve the real change in beliefs

and develop the skills necessary. For example, to use discussion effectively in classroom teaching, teachers, besides having to have the emotional security to face value conflicts openly and honestly, also need,

‘certain interactional skills, common to all teaching but particularly important in the handling of moral education. She must be a sensitive interpreter of the emotional climate of the classroom, aware of the signals from individual pupils which might indicate excitement, distress, sudden insight, internal conflict or defensive obstinacy. On a verbal level she needs to be able to analyze and assess pupils’ comments rapidly, and to formulate responses at a level of intellectual and emotional challenge that the pupils can handle...’ (Strivens, 1986, p.170).

In sum, the resources available to the school authority for implementing a curriculum are simply inadequate for curriculum leaders and teachers to develop and/or attend high quality programme(s) of staff development which will induce changes in attitudes and beliefs.

Another way of attracting teachers to carry through a curriculum change is to provide resources and rewards which will give implementing the change the characteristics of a practical decision. A practical decision is an option which is time and cost-efficient (Lieberman & Miller, 1984). ‘What school personnel want is less to do, not more’ (Sieber, 1976-77, p.42). But, in the schools studied, the limited resources provided by the central agency meant that adopting and implementing moral education was an ‘impractical’ decision. On the one hand, the curriculum change proposed is fairly radical in nature with many ‘novel elements’. Carrying out such change is very likely to involve uncertainty (Olson & Eaton, 1987) and quite threatening to the teachers (Brown, 1986; Stradling, 1986). On the other hand, there were neither teaching materials, expertise, nor extra staff provided to schools which adopted the change. Teachers who agreed to take up the demanding task of developing moral education had to use their own spare time to tackle a wide-range of time-consuming tasks. School-centred curriculum development requires more and better organised resources and more effective support than the centre-periphery strategy (Skilbeck, 1984), and is more demanding on teachers’ ability. In school-based curriculum development, teachers’ tasks include:

- a. curriculum need identified;
- b. objectives established;
- c. course outline and draft materials prepared/discussed;
- d. resources and pupil assignments developed;
- e. assessment techniques decided upon;
- f. guidelines produced for teachers;
- g. course materials produced in finished form;
- h. storage/retrieval system established’ (Evans, 1984, p.109).

Furthermore, ‘Stages a, b and c require teachers to work *together*: this raises an additional organisational need — time for meeting’ (Evans, 1984, p.110). Such a view has been echoed by Connell (1985) who stresses that more time is required in research and preparation in the case of school-based curriculum change. The experience of the Integrated Studies Project confirms the exacting demands of school-based curriculum change on teachers’ workload.

Teachers who were involved in moral education work had to take up all the tasks described above. Unfortunately, most secondary school teachers in Hong Kong have to teach thirty forty-minute periods each week making a contact ratio of about 0.75. On top of this come their form teacher duties

which include those concerned with pastoral care. Many have to organise or supervise extra-curricular activities also. Committed teachers were usually bogged down by these duties and it was just too exacting for them to find time for the moral education curriculum change. Teachers in School A raised this problem many times in their subject meetings and coordinators' meetings. They found great difficulty in finding time to meet their moral education team members to discuss their curriculum and lesson plans. Finding time to develop teaching materials also imposed severe hardships on teachers, particularly in the early stage of development.

Sparing precious time for moral education might either affect other duties or impose too much hardship on one's life. Only extremely committed teachers would whole-heartedly devote themselves, given the large amount of time required, to equipping themselves professionally to improve their moral teaching and also spare valuable time for developing moral education. If the central agency had been more supportive in terms of assistance, (for example, allocating extra staff and funding to schools adopting the change), then teachers and curriculum users would have felt that adopting and implementing the change was less impracticable. The implementation process would have been facilitated and the chance of achieving real change enhanced.

Another potentially effective support is to provide schools with local facilitators who can play the role of 'clinical consultants'. Local facilitators can provide 'in-person assistance' which, Cox (1983) describes as 'essential to getting new practices actively used and established in classrooms...' (p.11). Teachers, besides requiring more time for this wide range of work, also needed professional knowledge in curriculum development and the subject expertise of the proposed change. 'Creative skills are needed to orchestrate the elements of the planned curriculum' (Marsh & Stafford, 1984, p.125). Asking 'untrained' teachers in Hong Kong to develop moral education without substantial in-service staff development assistance and inputs from consultancy services was like asking a partially blind person to find his own way in a foreign terrain. Many teachers, without the expertise and time required, either rejected the change or resorted to means of adapting the change in ways which fitted in with existing routines and practices. Hence the level of change generated was depressed. It is not surprising that the resulting curricula are piecemeal, incoherent and weak in structure (for details see Chapter Five). The case of the school social worker in School A illustrates the usefulness of a high calibre local facilitator. The school social worker, although lacking professional training in moral education, played a very positive role in implementing the change (for details, see Chapter Six). However, her main responsibility was not to help the school develop moral education. She, therefore, actually imposed an extra burden on herself when she helped the school to develop the change. Her engagement in other work also meant that the support she could offer was restricted. A policy of allocating resources for schools to draw in full-time professionally trained facilitators, would improve the quality of the help offered. Good local facilitators can 'assist various individuals and groups in developing the competence and confidence needed to use a particular innovation' (Hall & Hord, 1987, p.11). They can also act as links with external resource personnel. By doing so, Marsh & Stafford (1984) note, the schools and teachers,

- ‘1. can get specific advice/assistance in areas of deficiency or weakness;
2. can obtain ideas/views which may provide new perspectives and additional insights;
3. can provide support and encouragement, especially needed at times when activities are not working too well;
4. can provide a stimulus to colleagues, whom you might be relying upon for support;
5. may be needed anyway as per regulations, but can lead to additional resources being provided;
6. can lead to wider publicity and indirectly, further support for the curriculum development activity’ (p.134).

The provision of well-trained local facilitators and the setting up of a network of resource personnel require considerable financial support which only the central agency can afford. Unfortunately, no such assistance was provided for the schools.

To sum up, the evidence of this study is not conclusive enough to reject or affirm the possibility of averting the adverse influence of the teaching culture. The conditions for developing moral education and the support available to the curriculum users is simply too inadequate to claim that it is not possible to successfully counter-act the influence of the culture of teaching and fully implement a radical change. Instead, the present study indicates that when appropriate support is not available, the culture of teaching will have a powerful impact on the process and results of the implementation work.

IV. RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS: POLITICAL ENTANGLEMENT OF GROUPS WITH VARYING IDEOLOGIES

If the culture of teaching were the sole determining factor influencing teachers’ decision making, then the outcomes of the change would have been the same in all three schools. This was not the case. The background and beliefs of the teachers, the organisational climate in the school, the relationship between the administrators and the teachers, the support of the principal, the layout of the school premises, the academic ability of the pupils in each school varied. The characteristics found to be distinctive in each school form the culture of the school which, according to Holly (1986), is made up of three interrelated aspects,

- ‘a. the deep structure of schooling...,
- b. the teachers’ occupational culture...,
- c. the social-psychological implicit agreements struck by teachers within organizations’ (p.355).

The three cases studied have different characteristics. The importance of shared values among teachers in implementing moral education at school level is revealed by the case of School B. School B, being a newly-established school with a team of teachers who shared similar values and perceptions of responsibilities was more conducive to the development of moral education than the others. This team, although still influenced by the teachers’ culture in that they showed strong subject identity and took academic teaching as their first priority, did feel that pastoral care and the passing on of values (mainly Christian values) were part of their work. The sharing of similar values minimised the conflicts among teachers, and between the teachers and the administrators. The whole implementation process in School B was therefore much smoother than in the other two.

Besides differences between schools, within schools, teachers do not share identical values and beliefs about, and ideologies of, moral education. Because of the limitations of the data, no assertions can be made about why such a phenomenon exists. Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986), from a review of the literature, explain,

‘Teachers differ in age, experience, social and cultural backgrounds, gender, marital status, subject matter, wisdom and ability. The schools in which they work also differ in many ways as do the groups of students they teach. All of these differences may lead to differences in teaching culture’ (p.507).

No matter what the reasons are, the differences in ideology are marked in some of the schools studied. It is only through negotiation, bargain, compromise and political interaction that the differences are accommodated or suppressed. In this section, the way the differences in ideology between the various groups in schools are resolved or tackled, and how this process affects the curriculum change, is discussed.

Conflicts between groups of teachers can be identified in the three schools studied, but of course to varying degrees, with School A facing the most serious situation (for details see Chapter Six). When moral education was so structured that a large number of teachers were involved in the work, views about moral education were divergent and posed problems for the curriculum leaders. For example, in School C, some teachers outside the moral education team privately raised questions about the suitability of the teaching style adopted by the moral education team. If they were to be drawn into the team or get involved in moral teaching, conflicts would definitely surface. Ball (1987) postulates that conflict between groups in schools arises from conflict of interests including vested interests, ideological interests and self interests.

‘Vested interests refer to the material concerns of teachers as related to working conditions: rewards from work, career and promotion.... Ideological interests refer to matters of value and philosophical commitment — views of practice and organisation that are preferred or advanced in debate or discussion.... Self-interest employs the term “self” in a particular way to refer to the sense of self or identity claimed or aspired to by the teacher, the sort of teacher a person believes themselves to be or wants to be (e.g. subject specialist, educator, pastoralist, administrators)’ (p.17).

Innovations are rarely neutral (Rice, 1982; Ball, 1987). The data in this study reveal that vested interests are not the main source of conflicts among teachers. For most of those who supported the change, commitment to it did not benefit their career in the school as the hierarchical structure of the school was based on the subject-divisions. Under this system, only one moral education teacher could gain promotion. Furthermore, when moral education was first initiated and adopted, the teachers (in all three schools) chosen to head the innovation were all senior teachers who either had been, or were soon to be, promoted. In fact, the major gulf was created by contrasting educational ideologies. As Holt states, ‘Decisions about the curriculum are decisions about values’ (1980, p.38). For example, in School A, the supporters of moral education including the principal, saw moral education as an important and necessary part of their duties. They believed that in moral teaching, teachers should adopt a more ‘friendly’ approach in their teacher-pupil relationships and pupil-centred teaching methods. Those who were not interested in, or objected to, the innovation felt that

moral education was not an integral part of their work. The primary motivation of most of the teachers committed to moral education, was therefore not extrinsic but intrinsic.

The differences among the groups were resolved through negotiation and political interaction. The channels of negotiation were not limited to formal channels such as subject committees and staff meetings. In general, there was no in-depth discussion about the modifications of the policy of the curriculum change in the staff meetings. Very often, the differences were resolved through the exertion of political power by the parties involved. For example, in School A, the principal who had the final say in curriculum matters, strongly backed the proposal to establish the 'form period' in which form teachers were requested to discuss moral issues with the pupils. Those teachers who were not interested in such an innovation could not veto the principal's decision on changes in timetabling. On the other hand, the principal and the small number of supporters of moral education did not have the force and administrative control to enforce the mode of classroom practices advocated. Moreover, the details of the curriculum were in the hands of the teachers. With their autonomy in the classroom, the large number of teachers who were not sympathetic to the change exerted their power on the implementation of the school policy. The inclusion of some non-value-laden activities in the curriculum such as inter-class competitions, using teacher-centred activities in classroom teaching, the refusal of cooperating in sparing time for team-teaching discussions are some of the examples (for details, see Chapter Six). The advocates of the innovation, despite a number of efforts to overcome the problems, finally realised they could not win the battle and decided to cut down the scale of the change by reverting to a specialised system under which a team of selected teachers took up the work of moral teaching (for details, see Chapter Six, Section III). From this incident, it can be seen that some of the curriculum decisions are the outcomes of the political entanglement of the various groups in the schools.

The divergent views about the change were resolved through confrontation or accommodation. The incident described above was a case of confrontation. Accommodation was another commonly used means of resolving conflicts. The decision of the school authorities to respect teachers' autonomy in curriculum matters at the classroom level meant that teachers could decide the way they wanted to teach without having to negotiate with other teachers. Hence, overt conflicts among the teachers were avoided.

As has been discussed in Chapter Six, the political entanglement also revealed the relative influence of the administrators and the teachers on curriculum change. The cases studied verify a 'loose-coupling' theory of school organisation (Deal & Celotti, 1980; Zeichner et al., 1987). The principal has strong influence in curricular matters at the school level, but does not effectively influence classroom teaching practice. One of the reasons leading to this is that the principal does not have professional expertise in all the subjects and the time necessary. Principals have to rely on the teaching staff to make specific decisions and put them into practice. The principals understand the constraints and limitations of administrative control over teachers. Traditional administrative approaches are not effective in affecting classroom instruction (Deal & Celotti, 1980). Rewards in

the form of promotion can only be applied to a few teachers as senior posts in each school are extremely limited. Furthermore, the multivariate demands on the principals also mean that close supervision at classroom level is impractical and may endanger the functioning of other aspects of work. Under such a situation, the principal has to relinquish control over teaching staff on curricular matters in classrooms. Much depends on the goodwill and cooperation of the teachers.

V. CONCLUSION

The findings of the first phase of this study illustrate the influence of teaching culture and in-school political interaction on curriculum implementation. Teachers are mostly practical, flexible and work in isolation. These cultural traits mean that moral education is considered as an area of secondary importance to academic teaching. The unfavourable conditions for development and the absence of support make adopting and implementing the change a costly one with low returns. Adopting and implementing the change is impracticable. Consequently, rejection and non-involvement was common among the teachers. In actual implementation work, the teachers adapted the change to fit in with their working environment and usual practices to minimize agitation inflicted upon the overall functioning of their work.

To achieve real change, massive support in the form of expertise, physical facilities, teaching materials, time and encouragement are needed. In the schools studied, the committed supporters were so badly pressed by the unfavourable conditions that the commitment of some teachers shown signs of decline. 'The teacher cannot do his professional job without the right conditions' (Woods, 1979, p.141). Teachers and administrators had to face the reality of meeting other demands imposed on them. To put it bluntly, they had to survive. Ideals had to be accommodated to the conditions of change. Because of these factors, the curriculum leaders in schools responded to the conflicts of views among teachers in a practical manner. They made concessions and scaled down the change to a level acceptable to the majority. The teachers did the same. Adaptations were made. The degree of change achieved was therefore, not as desirable as planned.

CHAPTER EIGHT

REFINEMENTS OF THE PROPOSITIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

The three in-depth case studies generate the following propositions about the implementation of moral education in secondary schools in Hong Kong:

1. The level of real change is low as reflected in teachers' attitudes and values, their aims, teaching strategies and teaching methods used.
2. In the curriculum implementation process, school administrators have great influence over matters at the school level but the teachers control what happens in the classroom.
3. School personnel are practical in orientation and stress privacy when making curricular decisions. These characteristics are revealed by:
 - a. the way teachers see the purposes of developing moral education in secondary schools in Hong Kong,
 - b. the aims set,
 - c. the choice of curriculum content,
 - d. the teaching methodology adopted,
 - e. the relative importance of moral education and other academic subjects in the eyes of the school personnel,
 - f. teachers' strong subject identity,
 - g. parents not being invited to be involved in the curriculum change,
 - h. practical knowledge being used in making curricular decisions,
 - i. teachers and school administrators being satisfied with a less-than-ideal situation,
 - j. the low level of interaction between teachers about teaching,
 - k. the lesson plans designed by the moral education teams not being carried through,
 - l. curriculum leaders in schools being reluctant to interfere with the teaching work of the teachers.
4. Conflicts between teachers arising mainly from ideological differences and are resolved through accommodation and compromise.

Twenty-four teachers from eight schools with different backgrounds were interviewed to evaluate the applicability of the propositions with a view to refining them (the characteristics of the interviewees and the questions asked are described in Section III.B, Chapter Four). Documents related to the curriculum changes in moral education in these eight schools were also analysed. This chapter presents and discusses the findings of this phase of study.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE SCHOOLS

Like the three case studies of the Stage I study, the eight schools studied had all devoted serious

efforts to developing moral education. To facilitate comparison, great care was taken in the selection of schools to ensure that they were from a wide spectrum as shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. The characteristics of the schools studied

SCHOOL TYPE		BACKGROUND	HISTORY (NO. OF YEARS ESTABLISHED)	LOCATION	INTAKE OF PUPILS (ACADEMIC ABILITY) <i>(footnote 8.2)</i>
L	sub.	religious (strong)	over 10	new town	very good
G	govt.	secular	over 20	urban	very good/ good
P	sub.	religious (strong)	over 20	urban	average
Y	sub.	charity (strong)	4	new town	below average
S	sub.	religious	over 20	urban	very good
J	sub.	charity (strong)	over 10	new town	below average
T	sub.	religious	5	urban	below average
K	priv.	secular	over 20	urban	average/ below average

(govt.: government, sub.: subsidised, priv.: private
For their characteristics, see footnote 8.1)

III. THE LEVEL OF CHANGE ACHIEVED

A. ADOPTION

All the schools studied had, in one way or another, tried to develop the moral education curriculum change since the Education Department called for this in 1981.

Table 8.2 Channels of moral education developed

<u>School G</u>		<i>Teaching Time</i>		
		<i>F.1-3</i>	<i>F.4-5</i>	<i>F.6-7</i>
form period		one 40 minute session in a fortnight		
Others		self-development scheme (a scheme similar to the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme)		
<u>School J</u>		<i>Teaching Time</i>		
		<i>F.1-3</i>	<i>F.4-5</i>	
Class assembly (or School assembly)		one 35 minute session in a six-day cycle		
School assembly (held on Saturday mornings)		once a term		
'special programme'		a number of activities centred around a theme		
'Tuesday talk'		5 to 15 minutes on every Tuesday morning		

School P

	<i>Teaching Time</i>		
	<i>F.1-3</i>	<i>F.4-5</i>	<i>F.6-7</i>
form period	four 15 minute sessions a week		
mass programmes	a theme was chosen for every year and a number of activities were organised on the theme		
assembly	one 30 minute session per week		
Biblical Knowledge (B.K.) & Ethics	F.1 to 3 had one period of B.K. a week, F.4 to F.7 had one period of Ethics a week		
Others	Christian Fellowship (for Christians only)		

School S

	<i>Teaching Time</i>	
	<i>F.1-4</i>	<i>F.5-7</i>
General Education & Religious Education	one period a week, General Education was for non-Christian students while Christian students had religious education	
Ethics	not provided	a 70 minute session a fortnight

School L

	<i>Teaching Time</i>		
	<i>F.1-3</i>	<i>F.4-5</i>	<i>F.6-7</i>
Morning assembly	10 minutes every morning		
Assembly & Form period	one 40 minute session every week		
Religious Education	two 40 minute sessions a week		

School K

	<i>Teaching Time</i>		
	<i>F.1-3</i>	<i>F.4-5</i>	<i>F.6-7</i>
Civic education	six to seven assembly sessions were for civic education in one year		
Morning assembly	five to ten minute talk on current affairs delivered by the principal		

School T

	<i>Teaching Time</i>		
	<i>F.1-3</i>	<i>F.4-5</i>	<i>F.6-7</i>
Assembly & Form period	one 40 minute session in every two six-day cycles		
Religious Ethics	one 40 minute session every week		

School Y

	<i>Teaching Time</i>	
	<i>F.1-3</i>	<i>F.4-5</i>
Morning assembly	five to ten minutes on every Wednesday	
Assembly & form period	one 40 minute session every week	

If adoption were to be the single criterion used in measuring the degree of curriculum change, then all the schools studied could be labelled 'successful'. However, a detailed, in-depth analysis of all the curriculum elements, such as the aims, teaching strategy adopted, teaching methods used, ways of evaluating the curriculum and teachers' attitudes portrays a fairly gloomy picture of the level of implementation.

B. AIMS & OBJECTIVES

Seven out of the eight school authorities studied had not clearly defined and stated what they were aiming at in implementing the moral education curriculum change. This was reflected in the interviews with both the curriculum leaders and the teachers. For example, the Guidance Mistress of School P and the Head of Moral Education of School J grumbled that no directions had been laid down by the school authorities. Most of the teachers interviewed, whether or not involved in this curriculum change, admitted having little or no knowledge of what the school authorities wished to accomplish.

Teachers themselves had not thought seriously about what they wanted to accomplish through moral education work. The following answers to the question 'what are your aims of teaching moral education?' illustrate this point:

'(A long pause) Hope pupils behave better....' (Head of Religious Education, School T)

'I have not thought about the long-term goals. I can just tell you the objectives of each lesson. To be frank, I don't know what the long term aims are. I cannot answer this question.' (Miss Chin, School G)

'I want pupils to understand the values and put them into practice.' (Head of Moral Education, School T)

C. TEACHING METHODS AND TEACHING STRATEGIES

In line with the findings of the first stage of the study, teachers were found employing activity-based teaching methods much more frequently in moral education classroom sessions than in subject teaching. Table 8.3, which shows part of the moral education curriculum plans of School Y, illustrates this.

Table 8.3 The curriculum plan of Form Five form period of School Y, 1989-90 (first term)

TOPIC	TEACHING ACTIVITIES
1. A review of summer holiday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – ask the pupils to fill in a short questionnaire to review how they spend their time during the summer holiday and what they have gained from it. – the teacher leads discussion with reference to the findings of the questionnaire
2. Class association election	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – the teacher helps the students to conduct an election to form the class association
3. How to manage time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – ask the pupils to complete a questionnaire on how they spend their time – the teacher analyses the findings – ask the pupils to design a timetable for themselves
4. What is fairplay?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – ask the pupils to complete an attitude test to clarify their attitudes and values towards fairplay – the teacher leads a discussion

The range of pupil-centred teaching methods used in form periods in School L was even wider. Activities like games, role-plays, use of video-tape, discussion, completing questionnaires, listening to audio-tapes were widely used, while lecturing was very rarely used.

This, if considered alone and superficially, might be interpreted as a great improvement. Deep down, however, teachers' attitudes and values with regard to teaching style remained very much unchanged. The head of moral education of School S, for example, complained that many teachers adopted the form, but not the essence of 'pupil-centred' activities. They capitalized on activities like watching video tapes, filling in questionnaires to meet pupils' demands and expectations, and to avoid having to deliver long talks in lessons rather than seeing them as ways of enhancing the effectiveness of their teaching. A member of the moral education team, School J, explained why form periods were mostly activity-based,

'As form teachers may not want to talk too much in form periods, we adopt an activity-based approach. We use activities like filling in questionnaires, playing games, conducting role-plays, and so on. Teachers do not have to "teach" at all in class. They just control the teaching time, ensure the activities are run smoothly, and conclude the lesson at the end'. (interview)

(This point is discussed in further detail in Section V.C).

The prevalence of a 'conservative' stance was also reflected in the teachers' choice of teaching strategy. A fairly high proportion (38%) of the teachers involved in moral education work said that they still adopted the strategy of instilling or inculcating a set of values or principles in the pupils. Only 22% claimed to be using a 'form-based' strategy. The rest either used both strategies or were 'confused' (see footnote 8.3).

D. STRUCTURE

The central agency forcefully promulgated the idea of integrating moral education into subject teaching (Edu. Dept., 1981b). As in the cases reported in Chapter Five, the majority of school administrators and the teachers ignored this suggestion. As shown in Table 8.4, although most of the school authorities had half-heartedly started planned values teaching in subject teaching, over half of the interviewees pointed out that this had not been discussed in subject meetings. Planned effort to teach about values in the classrooms was very rare.

Only one of the schools studied, i.e. School T, had seriously tried to introduce the 'integrated structure' by requesting subject heads to state in the work schedules what values were to be taught. Although the subject heads did follow this instruction (Head of Moral Education & Dean of Academic Affairs, School T, interview), the teachers interviewed in this school admitted that they had not put much effort into values education through subject teaching in classrooms (Head of Moral Education, Head of Religious Studies & Dean of Academic Affairs, School T, interview). Indeed, the school authority did not have any administrative procedure or mechanism to ensure that what was stated in the work schedule was carried out in classroom teaching.

Table 8.4 Moral education through subject teaching

SCHOOL	WHOLE SCHOOL DISCUSSION	SUBJECT PANEL DISCUSSION & POLICY STATED	CLASSROOM TEACHING
P	the principal and subject heads had discussed it once, the response of the subject heads was poor	no discussion	no planned efforts made by individual teachers
G	the principal suggested that the subject heads should develop the integrated approach	no discussion	no planned efforts made by individual teachers
S	neither whole-school policy nor discussion	no discussion	no planned efforts made by individual teachers
J	one teacher claimed that all subjects emphasised this	some subjects had discussed it while some had not	seldom had coordinated, planned efforts
K	the school administrators suggested this but some teachers were strongly against it	(data not available)	no planned efforts made by individual teachers
J	the school authority wanted this but no whole-school discussion	no discussion	no planned efforts made by individual teachers
T	all subject heads had to list what values were to be taught in the work schedule	this was briefly discussed	no planned efforts made by individual teachers
Y	Teachers of some subjects had to list values to be taught	very rarely discussed	no planned efforts made by individual teachers

Quite a few of the teachers interviewed expressed their reservations and doubts about the suitability and feasibility of teaching about values explicitly through subject teaching. Many considered their moral education duty fulfilled if they did it implicitly, such as through modelling, in subject teaching. The following view was typical among this group,

'Every teacher has in one way or another done some moral education work in their subject teaching. It's not necessary to dig out teaching materials specially for moral education work in subject teaching. It's better to do it in a more implicit manner.' (Mr. Lao, School T, interview)

E. THE ATTITUDES OF THE TEACHERS

A real change should involve a positive shift in attitudes and values among teachers towards the curriculum change (Reid et al., 1987). The degree of willingness to get involved can, therefore, be one of the benchmarks of the degree of change. Nearly all the 'heads' of moral education interviewed complained about the reluctance of some staff to take up moral education duties. The grievances of the Guidance Mistress of School P is a typical example,

'...many colleagues are not so supportive. They dare not speak out publicly that they do not support us. To be frank, they are not really interested in this (pause)... Moral education work is very time-consuming. Getting involved means a great increase in workload. Who want to do more work? Not every person is willing to take up extra workload' (interview).

A large proportion of teachers treated moral education as an extra duty and were not willing to commit great time and effort to it (for details, see Section V.E).

To sum up, the findings of the second phase of the present study indicate that the level and quality of implementation was not high even though all the schools studied had institutionalised some form of moral education programme. Most teachers did not like getting involved in moral education. The attitudes and thinking of the teaching staff towards moral education remained very much unchanged. Neither the teachers nor the school authorities were sure what their aims were. The integrated approach was not adopted. Only 22% of teachers claimed that they adopted form-based teaching strategies. Pupil-centred teaching methods were fairly widely adopted but not with the aims of enhancing the effectiveness of teaching. These characteristics echo the assertion of Reid et al. (1987),

'Changes in organisation (e.g. restructuring the timetable to accommodate new options) and materials (e.g. the introduction of a new published reading scheme) are achieved relatively easily. Indeed, it is these two components of implementation that are most often tackled, to the detriment of the others. Yet it is on the necessary changes in teaching style, understanding and commitment that the success or failure of implementation depends. These are, of course, the most difficult to effect as they also require heavy involvement in time and in-service provision.' (p.160)

IV. THE RELATIVE POWER OF SCHOOL PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

The curriculum leaders of all the schools studied in the first and the second stage conceded that they had not seriously considered involving parents in the moral education curriculum change process. Interaction between school personnel and parents was mostly restricted to parents' days and when the pupils were in serious trouble. The former was very much a social function while the latter was

a way of managing a crisis.

Like parents, pupils were, as was found in the first stage of this study, not a direct, strong force shaping the curriculum change. None of the schools had direct channels for pupils to express their views and comments on the moral education curriculum even though some teachers asked their pupils for their opinions of, and comments upon, the curriculum. In some schools, teachers were required to report to the head of moral education about pupils' performances and responses in each moral education session through evaluation forms which were sometimes referred to in curriculum planning. Many teachers claimed to take pupils' interests and needs into consideration when designing the curriculum content and teaching materials (this will be discussed in greater detail in Section V.B). These findings suggest that pupils' influence was 'indirect' and less powerful than that of the principal and the teachers.

The way the moral education curriculum change was initiated and adopted, and the subsequent major modifications of the moral education programmes in the three cases studied show that the school administrators had the dominant influence on school level curricular matters while teachers controlled what was taught in the classroom and how it was taught. Because of the time lag between the adoption decision and the time when the second stage study was conducted, many teachers interviewed had quite naturally, little knowledge of how the moral education curriculum change was initiated and adopted. However, the ways the curriculum change was modified in schools and the limited data on the adoption process substantiate the findings of the three earlier case studies that there was a sharp difference between the influence of the school administrators and the teachers. In all but one of the schools studied, initiation and adoption of the moral education curriculum change was in the hands of the school principal. No formal, large scale exercise of collecting teachers' opinions was undertaken prior to the adoption decision. A similar pattern prevailed in relation to the major modifications of the moral education curriculum.

Table 8.5 Modifications of the moral education curriculum

School	Major modifications	Who initiated?	How the decision was made?
P	– B.K. of senior forms was changed to Ethics	NA	decided by the principal
	– the Guidance Committee was independent of the Discipline Committee	Guidance Mistress	decided by the principal and a few senior teachers
G	– form period was formally used for moral education	Principal	decided by the principal
S	(no major modifications)		
L	(no major modifications)		
K	(no major modifications)		
J	– introduced 'special programmes'	Principal	decided by the principal and the School Council
T	– teaching time of assembly & form period was curtailed	NA	decided by the principal and the senior teachers
Y	– introduced Civic Education subject	Principal	decided by the principal
	– introduced form period	Teachers & Principal	decided by the principal

(Keys: B.K.: Biblical Knowledge, NA: not available)

By contrast, teachers enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in designing the course content, choosing teaching strategies and teaching methods. As Table 8.6 shows, in all but one of the schools studied, teachers decided what teaching methods and materials were to be used. In School T, teaching materials used for assembly and form period had to be approved by the principal. Even in that case, the principal would not modify or reject the teaching plan and teaching materials produced by the teachers unless there were serious flaws and problems (Head of Moral Education, School T, interview).

Table 8.6 The role of teachers in designing curriculum content and teaching materials

school	content of curriculum	teaching materials
P (religious education & mass programme)	decided by the teachers involved	
G form period (past)	decided by the teachers involved	
form period (present)	Head of Moral Edu.	prepared by the Head of Moral Education
S	decided by the teachers involved	
L (form period)	decided by the form teachers	decided by the form teachers but were given a collection of teaching materials for reference which was designed by a team of teachers a few years ago
K	designed by teachers & approved by the principal	decided by the teachers
J	form teachers of the same year formed a team and decided on the content with brief guidelines from the Guidance Mistress	each form teacher was responsible for preparing teaching materials for a few lessons, they had complete freedom to decide what materials were to be used
T	a committee made up of representatives from all the major committees (such as Academic Committee, Extra-curricular Activities Committee)	representatives of the major committees divided the work, each major committee would assign some of their members to do the preparation work
Y morning assembly	decided by the teachers involved	
civic edu.	decided by the teachers involved	
form period	decided by the moral education committee	

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHERS' CURRICULAR DECISIONS: BEING PRACTICAL AND EMPHASIZING PRIVACY

As has been discussed in Chapter Seven, Section II, school personnel were found to be practical in orientation and to stress privacy. This proposition was derived from findings related to the characteristics of the implemented curriculum, teachers' attitudes towards moral education curriculum change, the difficulties teachers faced and how they tackled them and the interaction between teachers. In this section, related findings from the second stage will be presented for comparison.

A. THE LOW LEVEL OF CONCERN ABOUT AIMS

Like the staff involved in the first stage, teaching staff were more concerned about which topics to include and how to carry out the lessons than in setting the aims and clarifying the purposes of developing the curriculum. When they were asked what their aims were, many of them felt lost and paused for a minute or so before answering. Two teachers involved in moral education admitted bluntly that they had never thought about this problem (for details, see Section III.B).

B. THE CHOICE OF CONTENT

The criteria adopted in content selection by the moral education teachers interviewed were wide-ranging.

Table 8.7 Criteria adopted by teachers in selecting moral education curriculum content

Criteria of content selection	no. of teachers
– the needs and the interest of the pupils	8
– relevant to pupils' daily life and school life	6
– trends and developments in society	4
– teachers' own preferences and experience	4
– certain teaching methods can be used	2
– speakers/teaching materials are available	2
– fit in with the major festivals	2
– follow the suggestions in the reference book	2
– others	2

What did teachers mean when they said that 'the needs and the interest of the pupils' and 'relevant to pupils' daily life and school life' were the criteria considered in designing the content of the moral education curriculum? The interviewees of School T claimed that the design of the moral education programme of their school was based on these criteria.

Table 8.8 Topics of assembly and form period of School T, 1988-89

1. Respect teachers & obey school rules
2. Actively participate in extra-curricular activities
3. Use leisure time wisely & develop the habit of reading
4. Study skills and attitudes towards study
5. Dress properly & speak gently
6. Develop independent thinking & be gentle and respectful towards others
7. How to prepare for public examinations
8. Improve the standard of sports
9. Understand oneself and fully develop one's potential
10. Working together to improve our school
11. Don't follow the bad side of mass culture & work hard for the future
12. Improve our English
13. Study diligently

From the topics listed in Table 8.8, it is clear that the topics were mostly related to pupils' problems. This shows that the teachers were concerned about pupils' problems when they referred to the

criteria, 'the needs and the interest of the pupils' and 'relevant to pupils' daily life and school life'. This problem-oriented stance is also found in other schools studied. Mr. Chan, a moral education teacher of School J, said,

'We choose topics which meet the needs and are suited to the age of the pupils. If the form teachers know that the pupils always "date", then we'll include a few sessions on "dating and love". If we feel that pupils are very weak in academic work, then we'll focus on that aspect.... I'm a F.4 form teacher. I choose topics about problems which F.4 pupils face. When pupils first start their F.4 course, they encounter problems of how to face the School Certificate Examination. I'll help them to set realistic goals of studying.'

(interview)

Compared with the findings of the first stage, the emphasis on current affairs was stronger. What led to this? The answer is perhaps given by the fact that all four interviewees who stressed the importance of current social developments in the curriculum content quoted the Beijing Student Movement as an example. School J chose 'democracy' as the theme of the 'special programme' in the academic year 1989-90. In May-June, 1989, a massive movement for faster progress towards democracy swept across China. Millions of Hong Kong people from all walks of life, strongly supported this movement. In a peaceful rally, over one million Hong Kong people demonstrated their support. This political movement had an immense impact on every aspect of the lives of Hong Kong people. Many educators, teachers and pupils actively participated in this event. Shortly after this incident, the Education Department announced its intention of releasing the restriction on political education in schools.

The reference book mentioned in the content selection criterion 'follow the suggestion of the reference book' was the one published by the Education Department in 1987. It listed the content and the teaching materials of a moral education programme designed by the principal and teachers of a secondary school. The major reason given for adopting it as a prototype was that it not only provided a structured programme but also ready-made materials and thus saved much preparation work (Head of Moral Education, School G, interview).

In general, as in the cases studied in the first stage, teachers were problem-oriented in designing the curriculum content. They were concerned with tackling pupils' problems and capturing the interest of the pupils to ensure that teaching in classrooms could be done smoothly. To make life easier, teachers tended to avoid including topics for which it might be difficult to find suitable teaching materials or speakers even though this might lower the quality of work. No theoretical principles underpinned the selection of content. Progression and linkage between topics and teaching units were not carefully considered. In designing the content, teachers relied heavily on their practical knowledge derived from day-to-day teaching experience although some claimed that they had referred to the work of other schools and ready-made teaching materials. This point will be elaborated further in Section V.F.

C. TEACHING METHODS USED

Activity-based, pupil-centred teaching methods were more commonly used in moral education

than in subject teaching (for details, see Section III.C). The reasons given by the respondents for this preference are listed in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9 Reasons why pupil-centred teaching methods were used more frequently in moral education sessions

Reasons related to the positive effects of using pupil-centred methods:	No. of times mentioned
– to arouse interest (create a more relaxed atmosphere)	2
– to meet the demands and the expectations of the pupils	1
– need to enhance pupils' involvement	1
– improve social skills	1
– to create a different image for moral education sessions	1
Reasons related to the negative effects of using teacher-centred methods (e.g. lecturing):	
– avoid talking	3
– do not want to make lessons too boring	2
– it is difficult to fill the teaching time if lecturing is used	1
Facilitating factors:	
– no examination pressure in moral education	1
– more pupil-centred teaching materials available	2

Reasons directly linked to enhancing teaching effectiveness were only mentioned twice, i.e. 'to enhance the involvement of the pupils', and 'improve social skills'. Behind the statements, 'to arouse interest (create a more relaxed atmosphere)', 'do not want to make it too boring', 'to meet the demands and expectations of the pupils' was a concern about the smooth functioning of classroom teaching. Some of the other factors mentioned, such as, 'it is difficult to fill the teaching time if lecturing is used' were related to avoiding problems. The Head of Moral Education of School S made a very interesting comment related to this,

'To many teachers, the best method is to show a twenty-five minutes video. A lesson is thirty-five minutes. Showing a twenty-five minutes video tape will "kill" thirty minutes. Teachers do not like fifteen minutes tapes because it's too short (they have to talk for too long).' (interview)

Teachers were very concerned about whether the teaching methods adopted would bring about a sharp increase in workload. In five schools, A-V materials were not used at all because of difficulties in finding suitable hardware or venue. For the same reason, using questionnaires in lessons was abandoned because,

'...we found that teachers had to do the statistics which was very troublesome to them as they were very busy already. Therefore, questionnaires are less frequently used now.'
(Head of Moral Education, School T, interview)

These findings, though not identical with those of the first stage (which suggested that pupil-centred, activity-based teaching methods were adopted for practical reasons closely associated with avoiding and tackling disciplinary problems in the classroom), point in the same direction. Teachers took a practical attitude to the curriculum change and were very concerned about the smooth functioning of classroom teaching. A few teachers reported that classroom management was a factor in adopting 'more interesting' methods.

'I do not really know (the reasons for not using lecturing in moral education sessions). Pupils consider moral education as something outside the formal curriculum. They feel that it's "lighter" than other subjects. Teachers do not have other options. We have to use teaching methods which are more attractive to them. We have considered disciplinary problem.' (Mr. Chan, School J, interview)

Even when adopting 'pupil-centred' methods, precautions were taken to avoid discipline problems.

Mr. Chan elaborated this,

'(In planning the lessons) we would design something for pupils to have individual work in class. We avoided using teaching activities which involved vigorous movement. In organising discussion, we asked pupils to form groups with their neighbours to minimise movement.' (interview)

D. THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF MORAL EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Nearly all the interviewees were of the opinion that the principals of their schools strongly backed this curriculum change. The successful adoption and institutionalisation substantiate the validity of this perception. If the school administrators had not taken moral education to be important and worth implementing, they would not have taken the initiative and invested so much resources in it. However, when it came to the relative importance of moral education and academic teaching, the teachers interviewed, with the exception of those of School L, took the view that the school authorities rated academic teaching more highly than moral education. The head of academic affairs of School T was outspoken on this issue,

'Like other newly-established schools, emphasis is placed more on the intellectual side. Other aspects of education are also important. But if pupils cannot develop their intellectual ability, then this (institution) cannot be called a school.' (interview)

This value stance is also reflected in the decision of this school to sacrifice moral education teaching time to accommodate the inclusion of new academic subjects into the timetable. The head of moral education explained the decision,

'The number of assemblies and form periods was cut (this year) because we had to squeeze in time for Computer Studies and Mandarin. These are examinable subjects.' (interview)

Many teachers in other schools studied took a similar stance. Miss Tam, a junior teacher of School Y said that she would sacrifice moral education for the sake of the intellectual development of the pupils if necessary. Some moral education curriculum leaders interviewed admitted to taking this view. For example, the Head of Moral Education of School J did not say explicitly but from her tone, it was not difficult to see what was in her mind,

'Although moral education is very important, I feel that academic work is of equal importance....(pause) How should I put it ?(pause)' (interview)

E. SUBJECT IDENTITY

Moral education curriculum leaders in the schools studied experienced difficulties in motivating and enlisting the support and participation of their colleagues (see Section IV). Some, for example,

the Head of Moral Education of School G, quoted this as the most serious problem they faced. The reasons given by the curriculum leaders and the teachers on why teachers were unwilling to become involved in moral education work are shown in Table 8.10:

Table 8.10 Factors leading to teachers' unwillingness to get involved in moral education work

REASONS	NO. OF INTERVIEWEES
– heavy workload, increase in workload	6
– do not have the skills and knowledge	4
– treat moral education as an extra duty	2
– poor feedback from the pupils	2
– subject identity	2

The most commonly quoted factor was 'heavy workload, increase in workload'. The serious concern about the increase in extra workload is in line with the teachers' practicality and pragmatic thinking.

The factor, 'do not have the skills and knowledge' was one of the major reasons quoted by the interviewees as to why teachers refused to adopt the change. The rationale behind the relationship between deskilling and refusing to take up the new responsibility also reflects practical and pragmatic thinking. Deskilling brings hardship and in some cases threatens survival. Teachers, who were 'practical' would be most likely to avoid getting involved in a change which would deskill them and impose unnecessary burdens on them.

If all or most school personnel were so seriously concerned about workload, no teachers would have participated in moral education work. Data collated, however, shows that some school personnel were dedicated to this 'new' task. What factors contributed to this difference between teachers? There are a number of possible factors. The pressure put on teachers to participate by the school administrators is one. But most of the curriculum leaders studied took up this task willingly. Therefore, pressure from the school administrators seems not to have been a major factor.

Career advancement may be another. The prospect of promotion seems not to have been an important factor as many of the curriculum leaders had been promoted to senior posts when they took up moral education work. As there was only one senior post for moral education work, other teachers would not get promotion by involving themselves in moral education work anyway. What further factors might be behind it?

Data collected in the first stage suggest a relationship between one's perception of one's duties and willingness to take up moral education work. Two respondents in the second stage pointed out that 'moral education considered as an extra duty' was a factor which led to a refusal to get involved.

'Teachers are very busy. I sometimes fear that the teachers feel that moral education work is an extra-duty. Many teachers have been teaching for many years. In the past, there was no formal moral education work. They feel that we are putting extra work onto them.'
(Head of Moral Education, School G, interview)

The case of School L also sheds light on this factor. Motivating staff to support the change was not a problem at all in School L. This school had a similar background to School B. Both were run by a church which emphasized development of the whole person; all teachers were devoted Christians strongly motivated to promoting Christianity; moral education was treated as a corollary of promoting religious beliefs. When interviewed, the teachers in this school unanimously attributed the willingness to take up moral education work to their homogeneous background and the strong sense of mission they held. This extraordinary case suggests that teachers who consider developing moral education to be part of their duties are more willing to take it up even if it brings a heavier workload.

Many of the school personnel supporting the change explained that they took part because it was badly needed and it was their duty and obligation to offer help to the pupils. Miss Cheuk, a moral education teacher of School Y said that she found the question of 'sex' was perplexing the pupils. She wanted to help students to solve this problem and lead a better life. Mr. Chan, a teacher involved in moral education work in School J said, 'We feel that there are some things which we need to do' (interview). Therefore, he got involved in moral education work. These findings are in line with those of the first stage.

Teachers holding a narrow definition of their duties would quite naturally refuse or try to evade the 'extra' task imposed. Subject identity was found to be an influential variable behind teachers' perceptions of duties in the first stage. Data collated in the second stage also reflect its importance.

F. THE DOMINANCE OF PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE

Teachers' strong reliance on practical knowledge derived from their day to day work in the classroom and the school context, was reflected in teachers' views of formal staff development courses, curriculum content design, ways of collecting teaching materials and the way evaluation was conducted.

With one exception, none of the teachers interviewed had any formal, professional moral education training. But most teachers neither felt a strong need for this nor actively sought opportunities to equip themselves by attending moral education staff development courses. Some even doubted the usefulness of such staff development sessions. Mr. Yau (School L) is an example,

'I had attended some short courses and seminars. But later, because of family commitments, I rarely attend (courses and seminars). Usually, what's suggested in courses and seminars is not practical. What I have learnt from my experience is more valuable.'
(interview)

The 'knowledge' used in designing the curriculum confirms the importance of 'practical knowledge' in teachers' curriculum decisions. As stated in Section V.B, meeting pupils' needs and interests, and taking into account developments in society were two major sets of content selection criteria. A professional curriculum developer would have conducted 'research work' such as reviewing the literature, conducting a questionnaire survey or interviewing the pupils, to get a clear picture of what the needs of the pupils were and to understand the meanings of recent societal trends for the pupils. However, teachers did not use any such 'objective', academic or scientific means. Many form teachers frankly admitted that their selection was based on their experience and personal preferences. No theoretical framework was considered or adopted in making this curricular decision.

In finding and designing teaching materials, teachers also relied heavily on their experience and very often centred their work on the teaching materials immediately available. None of the teachers referred to the moral education teaching centres and libraries as major sources. The teachers interviewed said that they had not made any attempts to seek advice from professional moral educators. The most commonly used references were textbooks and teaching materials in the school library or the reference shelf in the staff room. Many of these materials were provided free to the schools.

The reliance on practical knowledge is also evident in the way teachers evaluated their curriculum. The major source of data used to gauge effectiveness and monitor progress was the teachers' perception. Although aware of the limitations of this, curriculum leaders and teachers in schools had not actively explored other alternatives nor tried to use more scientific, objective evaluation methods put forward by academics.

G. LITTLE INTERACTION AMONG TEACHERS

Emphasis on privacy among moral education teachers is revealed by three phenomena, namely,

1. little interaction was apparent among moral education teachers about teaching,
2. lesson plans designed by the moral education team were not followed,
3. moral education curriculum leaders in schools were reluctant to interfere with the teaching work of their fellow teachers.

Five of the eight schools studied set up some form of team teaching to ease the workload. This should have stimulated considerable interaction and cooperation among the teaching staff involved. But in reality, the interaction level was low. Teachers involved occasionally met to decide the topics and divide the lesson planning tasks, but after that, interaction was rare. A teacher described how his committee worked,

'Our teachers always discuss current affairs but seldom talk about how to teach civic (and moral) education.... We do not meet to discuss about the preparation of the civic education talks (lessons). Each teacher prepares his own sessions.' (Mr. Lam, School K, interview)

Inter-committee interaction was even rarer. This was evident in the two schools which carried out moral education through a number of channels designed and executed by different committees. In School P, moral education channels included religious education (headed by the subject head of religious education), mass programmes (led by the Guidance Mistress) and form periods (content and teaching materials decided by form teachers). The Guidance Mistress described the coordination between these committees,

‘There is little coordination among committees. In the past, we set the themes of mass programmes and informed the Religious Affairs Committee and other committees. But we could not interfere with their work. We just informed them of what we planned to do.’ (interview)

Despite the administrative changes made, interaction and coordination were still weak. The Guidance Mistress elaborated further,

‘Now, because there is a moral education coordinator, we recommended to him how other committees can coordinate with our mass programmes. This year, we informed the principal of our suggestions through the moral education coordinator. The principal tells the heads of E.P.A. and Ethics of our suggestions. But he points out (to them) that the suggestions are not compulsory. It’s up to the teachers to decide whether or not to put them into practice.’ (interview)

The head of moral education of School Y described a similar phenomenon,

‘... “departments” take care of their own business. Some teachers do not know that we have produced these civic education materials even though (we had introduced the syllabus (to teachers) in our staff meeting.’ (interview)

These phenomena indicate the existence of a clear delineation of the teachers’ work areas which most if not all school personnel respected and cautiously refrained from infringing. The head of moral education in School J, for example, considered that she was in no position to conduct classroom observation of values teaching in subject teaching because subject teaching was not her ‘territory’.

H. LESSON PLANS NOT IMPLEMENTED

Five of the eight schools studied had set up teams to develop lesson plans and supply teaching materials to all the staff teaching moral education. As was found in the first stage of the present study, some staff did not use the materials produced by these ‘moral education’ teams. The two form teachers of School L, when interviewed, admitted that they did not use the teaching materials supplied by the Guidance and Disciplinary Committee. In the other four schools which had a similar system, i.e. a ‘specialised team’, teachers interviewed were more reserved in their answers to this question. However, all these schools had requested the form teachers to complete an evaluation form about the lesson plans and teaching materials after every lesson. Some curriculum leaders admitted indirectly that this was partly an administrative means of ensuring that their colleagues would follow the instructions and use the teaching materials provided. The head of moral education of School T, for example, acknowledged that prior to the introduction of this ‘evaluation form’, some teachers misused moral education sessions for subject teaching. With the introduction of this system, more teachers complied with the instructions of the moral education committee. A moral

education teacher of School G made a similar comment,

'Teachers are required to fill in an evaluation form which has to be handed in to the head of moral education (Laugh). So they use it (the teaching materials provided).' (Miss Chin, interview)

The stage one study revealed that a major reason why teachers did not use the teaching materials designed by the 'specialised team' was that teachers found teaching an art and it was difficult to follow lesson plans designed by somebody else. Every teacher had different ideas on how a lesson should be taught. The data collected in the second stage failed to confirm this assertion. Indeed, a range of different factors was discovered. Two form teachers (both in School L) did not follow the teaching materials provided because the materials did not relate to the problems their pupils faced.

One of them explained,

'..I feel that some of the topics included in the reference materials are not the most suitable ones, I therefore, do not follow the content of the reference materials.... I do not really pick the topics. I do not read the whole set (of the reference materials) and then choose.' (Miss Tam, School L, interview)

However, the curriculum leaders of Schools J and T pointed out that teachers' refusal to follow the teaching materials designed by the specialised teams in their schools was due more to the teachers' perception that moral education was an extra duty. They did not adopt and follow the materials provided because they used moral education sessions for subject teaching.

In School G, some teachers welcomed this system of having teaching materials and lessons planned by colleagues because it eased the workload (Head of Moral Education & Miss Chin, School G, interview).

These findings fail to confirm or reject the proposition, 'teachers do not like using teaching materials planned by their colleagues'. No clear cut explanation of this phenomenon can be derived.

1. CURRICULUM LEADERS RELUCTANT TO INTERFERE

Moral education curriculum leaders in schools knew and suffered from the problem that some teachers defied the instructions of the school authority in the teaching of moral education, but the majority had not made any determined efforts to deal with it. Only School L had instituted regular classroom observation for all heads of departments to supervise and exchange views with their colleagues. The principal of School T instructed teachers to seek his approval before using any teaching materials in assembly and form period, two of the major channels of moral education. Otherwise, no measures were adopted by the school authorities and moral education curriculum leaders interviewed to intervene in moral education teaching. The common phenomenon was that teachers were granted a high degree of freedom in deciding matters at classroom level.

Reluctance to intervene was most obvious in School Y. The moral education committee understood that form teachers might not be willing to teach form periods which were designated mainly for moral education (Head of Moral Education, interview). Faced with this problem, the moral

education curriculum leaders could have requested the principal to 'push' their colleagues to comply through administrative means such as checking pupils' work done in moral education sessions. Instead, a low profile solution was adopted,

'... use teaching activities which demand less effort and work from the teachers. The main task of the teachers in form periods is to draw conclusion (at the end of the lesson). They do not have to do much talking. The teaching activities are pupil-based. We hoped that this would make it easier for the teachers in delivering the lessons.' (Head of Moral Education, School Y, interview)

This policy of refraining from intervention was adopted because of practical considerations. Effective control of teachers in the classroom was considered unworkable by many interviewees. Teachers were not used to being intruded upon in classroom teaching. A teacher reported that she was 'anxious and uneasy' when the system of routine classroom observation among colleagues was launched (Miss Tam, School L, interview). The vice-principal of School K described the teacher as the 'king' of the classroom. As a school administrator, he felt that to check whether form teachers really carried out their moral education duties in the classroom, a very 'tightly-controlled system' would be necessary. He commented,

'I know a school has developed such a system. In every form period, there are some worksheets for pupils to do. The pupils have to hand in the worksheets to the head of moral education who will pass to the form teachers. Through this, the head of moral education can check whether the teachers have really taught it. This is probably the only way to check whether teachers have taught it. Classroom observation is not an effective way of checking as there is only one or two observations in a year.' (interview)

This monitoring problem discouraged the school authority from adopting the idea of developing an independent 'civic education' subject (the vice-principal, School K, interview).

VI. CONFLICTS AND RESOLUTIONS

The incidents quoted in Section V.E show that conflicts between teachers who supported the moral education curriculum change and those who were against it were common. The moral education curriculum leaders faced the problem of how to motivate the non-joiners and ensure a high standard of work.

Teachers who voluntarily participated in this curriculum change did not get any concrete benefits in promotion, power or materialistic return. Ideologies and values held seemed to be the key factor leading to conflicts between those who backed the change and those who were against it.

Among moral education curriculum designers of the eight schools studied, there was no marked conflict. This is not surprising as the moral education programmes of five of the schools studied were designed by a 'specialised' team or committee which comprised teachers who were more supportive. Among the rest, in School L, the form period topics (one channel for moral education) were decided by the form teacher of each class. As most teachers involved in planning moral education lessons and teaching materials had the freedom to do it independently, there were no marked conflicts of opinion.

As in the cases of Schools A, B and C, conflicts were resolved through accommodation and compromise. The incidents described and quoted in Section V.H illustrate that school personnel studied in the second stage adopted a similar strategy.

VII. CONCLUSION

The findings of the second stage are very much in line with those of the first stage. Although some discrepancies were found, the overall pattern strongly suggests that most of the propositions derived in the first stage are confirmed. The new moral education curriculum did not result in a high degree of change because it caused much hardship and in some cases threatened teachers' ability to fulfil other duties. School personnel are orientated towards practical matters in their curricular decision making. Their perception of their duties strongly affects teachers' willingness to adopt and implement the moral education curriculum change. The elements of the curriculum change which cause too much hardship or affect their effectiveness in carrying out other duties are either rejected or modified extensively to the extent that the essence of the change is lost. Privacy is strongly respected by the teachers. Conflict between 'interest groups' is tackled by low profile accommodation and compromise.

What are the implications of these generalisations for curriculum developers and moral educators? To this, we turn in the concluding chapter.

Footnote:

- 8.1: *The government schools are managed by the Education Department and are secular. The subsidised schools are run by public organisations like charities and the churches, with heavy subsidies from the government. In some of the schools managed by religious organisations, the importance of religious education and promoting religious beliefs is stressed. Others are mostly secular. Private schools, with a few exceptions, are run by profit-making bodies.*
- 8.2: *In Hong Kong, primary six students are graded into five 'bands' according to their internal school examination results and their performance in aptitude tests administered by the Education Department. The allocation of secondary school places is mainly based on students' banding. Prestigious secondary schools usually get band one students who are competent academically. Band three is taken as 'average' in this study.*
- 8.3: *The 'confused' stance is best illustrated by an example.*
'I do not agree that there should not be any absolute standard held by the teachers. Pupils are being moulded by the teachers. If teachers do not have a standard in mind, they cannot mould the pupils. But I don't think that it's suitable to press pupils to accept some values. However, I feel that I'm more inclined to the content-based strategy. Teachers should be 'models'. Teachers should present their values and views to the pupils. As pupils are under many influences, pupils can make their conclusions and decisions.' (the Guidance Mistress, School P, interview)

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION: SOME POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

The implementation process and its outcomes as revealed in this study should not be taken as a reflection of the full picture of the situation in all secondary schools in Hong Kong as the schools studied had all made serious efforts to develop a moral education curriculum. The school-centred development strategy meant that some schools may have ignored the call for curriculum change in moral education. If this is taken into consideration, it is probably the case that the actual level of change achieved in secondary schools in Hong Kong is lower than the findings suggest. However, as the schools studied were selected from a wide spectrum of schools and have varying characteristics, the picture revealed in this study does, to a large extent, represent the activities and strategies of the secondary schools which tried to adopt the moral education curriculum change.

In this chapter, some suggestions as to how moral educators and curriculum developers in Hong Kong can improve their work will be made.

Curriculum development systems and environments vary. Experience in one place should not be treated as universally applicable to all cases. In the late sixties and seventies, many policy makers wrongly transposed the knowledge gained in developed countries to developing areas (Little, 1988). However, even though the environment in which moral education was developed in Hong Kong is not the same as other places, this study has uncovered findings similar to those of studies conducted in other places, such as England, Australia and North America. 'Good chess is learned by the study of many individual games' (Stenhouse, 1980, p.29). These findings can help to illuminate the work of curriculum theorists and those concerned with moral education in other parts of the world.

II. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO MORAL EDUCATORS

A. *DIFFICULTIES AND SOLUTIONS*

Many curriculum theorists (for example, Hurst, 1983) assert that implementing a curriculum change is difficult. The present study shows that implementing moral education curriculum change in Hong Kong is particularly difficult for the following reasons:

1. The prime importance of academic teaching

Both teachers and school authorities give higher priority to cognitive-intellectual teaching than moral education work. Efforts invested in moral education are, therefore, comparatively weak. Teachers do not see moral education as their prime task.

2. The strong subject identity of teachers

Teachers are trained as subject specialists and are expected to perform their duties as such. This is further aggravated by the departmentalised administrative structure in schools. Very

much influenced by this, teachers consider moral education work as an extra duty and regard it as of secondary importance. Many teachers, cajoled or pressed into accepting moral education duties do not give of their best. Even of those interested in effecting the change, most can only devote the time and energy left over from their academic subject teaching to moral education. The quality of the work is thus affected.

3. Lack of trained staff

Those who do see a need for moral education and are prepared to acknowledge their responsibilities in this area are handicapped by their lack of professional knowledge of moral education and school-based curriculum development experience. Absence of coherence and progression in the moral education programme is one manifestation of this weakness.

4. Difficulties in evaluation

Evaluation, especially if there are positive results, can facilitate the development process and stabilise the change. Moral education teachers encounter serious problems in evaluating the results of their work, partly due to the nature of moral education and partly because of their lack of professional knowledge. They, as Webb & Ashton (1987) assert, rely on intuitive judgment and resort to the belief that participating in a moral education programme is better than crossing one's arms so as to sustain their interest in, and commitment to the curriculum change. This situation is dangerous because these weakly-based beliefs are prone to attack by those opposed to the change.

The difficulties described above are not found in Hong Kong only. The relatively low status of the non-academic curriculum has been reported by other researchers and moral educators. Ball (1987) and Hargreaves et al. (1988), for instance, both found that the academic curriculum was taken as being more important than the pastoral curriculum and PSE in England. Sikes et al. (1985) have reported evidence for the strong subject identity of teachers.

Given the nature of moral education (as described in Chapter Three), it can be predicted that in implementing any moral education programme, difficulties in evaluation will unavoidably be a stumbling block hindering the smoothness of the change process.

Many of the elements of the suggested curriculum change such as the adoption of more liberal teaching strategies and pupil-centred teaching methods, are by no means unusual. Many moral education curriculum developers have advocated them. Although the curriculum change studied in this work was implemented in an environment acutely short of essential support, it is highly probable that moral educators in other places will encounter similar difficulties when implementing curriculum changes with these progressive elements. Moral educators, curriculum developers and school personnel involved in developing moral education have to be aware of such difficulties in planning their work.

What might be done to enhance the level of change? How might curriculum developers and those involved in moral education work in Hong Kong achieve a better result? It would, of course, be ideal to strike a balance between the status of academic teaching and non-academic work and break down the perception of rigid subject identity. But these are the result of the macro-structure which is extremely difficult for educators alone to change. The difficulties in evaluation are very much due to the nature of moral education and as such would be extremely difficult to resolve. Lieberman & Miller (1990) have argued for developing a new school culture which supports teachers' inquiry in schools and is conducive to teacher development. If such a new school culture could be developed, it would greatly facilitate the implementation of curriculum change. But it is doubtful whether it would be possible to develop such a new school culture in Hong Kong as it demands a fundamental change in the whole perception of school education and teacher education, and would be very costly in terms of resources.

Nevertheless, in view of the present situation in Hong Kong, there are still a number of practical means likely to induce the desired change (for details, see Chapter Seven, Section III). Two of these, namely staff development and providing local facilitator service, are worthy of reiterating and elaborating as they are practical and effective means of facilitating this type of curriculum change. Large-scale intensive staff development can enhance the curriculum users' capability. In some of the schools studied the school authorities had managed to identify some teachers who strongly supported and were willing to contribute to the change. Though the teachers were very committed and ready to make personal sacrifices for the curriculum change, lack of professional knowledge and experience seriously affected their effectiveness and the level of change achieved. If these teachers had been better equipped, the implementation process would have been much smoother and would have yielded better results. Courtman (1990) has also suggested that staff development is a way to change teachers' attitudes towards non-academic curriculum, thus help to strike a balance between traditional subject education, vocational education and personal and social education in schools.

Staff development can be conducted in many forms. Formal training can be offered during initial training in the Colleges of Education and the Universities; as can in-service courses in the form of extra-mural studies. School-based or 'regionally-based' staff development activities have advantages over territory-wide ones because the courses can be tailor-made to meet the needs of individual teachers. Practical advice can be channelled to those attending the courses. It would also save teachers the trouble involved in travelling.

The Community Relations Department of the Independent Commission Against Corruption of Hong Kong will start a 'Development Course for Moral Education Teachers' in October, 1991. This twelve-hour teacher training programme will be run on a regional basis, aiming at helping teachers acquire basic theoretical underpinnings and improve practical skills in planning and implementing

moral education curriculum and classroom teaching. Schools will be invited to send two to four moral education teachers to join the course as a team to ensure greater after-effect. The school principals of the course participants will also be invited to attend some of the sessions which deal with the problems teachers face in developing and implementing moral education curriculum. It is hoped that this will help convince the school authorities of the importance of giving extra support to moral education teachers. It will be interesting to see whether this regionally-based, practical course tailor-made for moral education teachers will facilitate a more healthy development of moral education in schools.

Teachers have a 'tacit knowledge base' and continually inquire into, analyse, rethink and evaluate their own practices and values (Lieberman & Miller, 1990). They can learn from one another. The problem is that teachers very often work in private. There are not enough channels for teachers to share their grievances and successful experience. Regional networks, both formal and informal ones can facilitate interactions among the curriculum users. The regionally-based staff development courses described above can serve as pioneer exercises in facilitating long-term cooperation between teachers in neighbouring schools. A regional network, once established, may provide long-term stimulus and informal 'learning opportunities' among teachers leading to continuous improvement.

No matter which forms of staff development are adopted, to make them successful, the central agency should try to invest suitable amounts of resources and support in the organisations and individual schools organising these staff development programmes. At present there are simply too little resources provided for schools to develop these important activities. One of the necessary conditions for success is that teachers must be given enough time to learn, digest, think, reflect and develop their professionalism. There is a limit to the sacrifices that can be expected from teachers. The moral education teachers in this study were badly affected by shortage of time.

Another form of practical help which would be useful to the curriculum users would be the provision of 'local facilitators' for schools. The case of the school social worker of School A described in Chapter Five, vividly illustrates the potential contribution of high calibre local facilitators. The role of this sort of agent should be that of a participant-consultant offering practical advice and support, from the planning of the curriculum to its delivery in the classroom, rather than one of an inspector responsible for quality control.

Finding enough suitable local facilitators will not be easy. Besides having determination and an interest in helping teachers, facilitators must be well-equipped with professional knowledge of both the discipline and school-based development work; skills in analysing the conditions for changes in schools; political and interpersonal skills in managing changes and so on. However, with more resources and training input, experienced moral education teachers in schools can, without much difficulty, serve as local facilitators.

As it takes time to thoroughly understand the school environment and to build up rapport with teachers, local facilitators should be stationed in schools for a considerable period of time. This practice also has the advantage of generating continuous and constant stimulus for teachers. After the curriculum change is stabilised and the curriculum leaders in schools become more experienced, local facilitators can be phased out.

Among the schools studied, stability of staffing has not been a serious threat to the development of the curriculum change. This may be the result of the promotion policy in schools. Most schools do not favour recruiting staff to senior posts from other schools therefore the mobility of senior teachers is very low. However, to ensure that continuity of the curriculum development will not be affected by changes in staffing, the local facilitators should aim at promoting the creation of a team of experienced curriculum leaders in schools.

B. A MORE REALISTIC CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROCEDURE

One of the controversies in moral education curriculum development is whether moral education should be taught in the form of a 'time slot' in the formal curriculum or be integrated with the 'whole' curriculum (Wright, 1986). Both approaches have been adopted in different parts of the world. In Puerto Rico, the official policy favours the integrated approach (Canon, 1988). The situation in Australia is that,

'The direct teaching of moral education/moral thinking as a special subject has not been widely accepted..., apart from the schools which have close religious affiliations' (Marsh & Stafford, 1984, p.230).

In places like Singapore, Taiwan (Lee, 1990), Malaysia (Mukherjee, 1983) and China, moral education occupies a regular slot in the timetable. In Japan, immediately after the Second World War, under the influence of the Americans, the integrated approach was adopted, but since 1958, moral education has been officially treated as a separate subject (Takahashi, 1988).

Moral educators have discussed this issue from various standpoints. Smith (1982), for example, argues for the integrated approach on the basis that there are many opportunities for values teaching in various subjects. He also accuses the separate subject approach as tending,

'to be artificial and students are very suspect of contrived situations' (p.82).

Weinreich-Haste (1987) also criticises the ineffectiveness and potential harmful effects of carrying out moral teaching as a separate subject,

'The milder objections to this (establishing a formal curriculum slot for moral education) are that it then becomes something that happens on Tuesdays between ten and eleven, and gets forgotten outside that time, and as a consequence, other lessons in which moral education could take place—and indeed does—will have less incentive to consider the implications of their curriculum. The stronger objections have been first, that it may lead to "moral assessment", or even a "moral development quotient", which might have pernicious implications; and secondly, that moral education means teaching one set of values rather than another' (1987, p.63).

Hargreaves et al. (1988) warn that if personal and social education was only provided as a separate time slot in the curriculum, it 'can seriously undermine the status of PSE, placing it on the margins of school life and at the tail end of staff and pupils' priorities' (p.177).

Bugge (1988) argues for adopting the integrated approach in Denmark because the characteristics of the Danish curriculum development system make it 'unlikely that a new subject moral education, will be introduced into the timetable' (p.68).

Despite the arguments listed above, Plas writes,

'It is true that subjects like biology, geography, physics, chemistry, history and literature are morally loaded but it cannot, in my opinion, be said that this dimension is developed to any significant extent. Only a few methods recognize the subject matter in that sense. Examination requirements further structure the curriculum in a purely factual direction' (1985, p.117).

The findings of the present study offer another perspective on the controversy about ways of structuring moral education. From the curriculum implementation point of view, it is advisable to adopt the separate subject approach as a starting point in Hong Kong and other places where conditions for developing moral education are not so favourable.

Theorists and educationalists have cogently argued that values teaching can be carried out in various curriculum subjects (see for example, Tomlinson & Quinton, 1986). But for values teaching in subjects to happen,

'all teachers need to be skilled in the methodology for utilizing these issues for moral education, and this may mean a change in style from the teacher's usual practice' (Wright, 1986, p.53).

The picture revealed in this study suggests that the majority of teachers in Hong Kong, irrespective of their subject specialism, do not have the necessary expertise and knowledge about values teaching in their subjects. Furthermore, the emphasis on academic knowledge in public examinations has also discouraged subject teachers from investing time and effort in teaching about values. Without commitment and expertise on the part of teachers, real change can never get off the ground. To make a break-through here, as has been argued in Chapter Seven, intensive staff development and other kinds of support are essential. But it is extremely difficult to put these in place in a short time.

The scale of change involved in developing moral education in the form of a separate subject is much smaller as schools can cut down on the number of teachers involved. The problem of finding enough teachers interested and committed to moral education should, therefore, be markedly relieved. The support and resources needed to enhance the professional expertise of a moral education team should be more affordable and would encounter less opposition. In sum, the whole change will become manageable and more 'practical' to the curriculum leaders and curriculum users in the schools.

Hargreaves et al. (1988) have argued that commitment of the whole school is essential to the effective provision of personal and social education. They suggest that with the strong support of the head teacher, enhancing the status of the head of personal and social education in school (preferably including developing PSE as part of the duties of the deputy head), developing a 'year team' to be a curriculum planning team, delegating most of the pastoral care and PSE responsibilities to class teachers and form tutors, the whole school will become more involved and PSE will be successful. The present study, however, shows that these measures are not effective in Hong Kong. The three case study schools had, in various ways adopted measures similar to the suggestions listed above, but the level of change achieved was not high. The ineffectiveness of the measures suggested by Hargreaves et al. (1988) reflects how complicated the problems are in implementing moral education. It is, therefore, more realistic to scale down the curriculum change to a more manageable size. Developing moral education as a separate subject as a first step is more likely to lead to success.

Adopting the separate subject approach does not eradicate all the barriers to change, it only eases the problem as it is less complex and smaller in scale. Some implementation problems still exist. For example, as Quicke (1985) and Hargreaves et al. (1988) have reminded us, moral education as a subject suffers from having a lower status than academic subjects. Most pupils and teachers do not treat moral education as the most important subject. However, the core of this problem is to do with the relative importance of the academic and non-academic curricula rather than the structure of moral education. Whether the integrated or the separate subject approach is adopted, it will still persist and hinder the smoothness of the implementation process.

Setting up a separate moral education subject does not imply that values teaching should not be and cannot be included in curriculum subject teaching (Kleinig, 1982b). They can be complementary. The case is, to a certain extent, similar to literacy development. Teaching children how to write and read in language lessons does not preclude other subjects from playing an active part in developing pupils' literacy. It will actually increase the effectiveness if language teachers and other subject teachers can coordinate and implement a whole school plan for promoting literacy development. What is being proposed here is that setting up a moral education subject should be the first step with the ultimate goal of extending moral education to the whole curriculum. While the subject of moral education is being established, preparation for a full-scale development of moral education in the whole curriculum should be planned and carried out step by step as the context of change improves. Moral education can be carried out through many channels. As well as moral education as a separate subject and values teaching through the subjects, extra-curricular activities and school ethos are also important and effective channels of moral education. Kohlberg (1976) has stressed the importance of building up 'just community schools' in promoting students' moral development. Experience in a Boston school has revealed the positive effects of this approach (Power et al., 1989). Involving parents and cooperating with them in promoting learning about moral values is another useful channel (Smith, 1982) worth developing.

For coordinating all these efforts at moral education, a whole school policy should be hammered out (David, 1983; Hargreaves et al., 1988). As a supporting step, staff development on values teaching in the various subjects should be developed.

The argument for developing a separate moral education subject as a first step in moral education curriculum change is applicable to places where conditions for change are less than favourable. There is little hope of success in implementing a large scale change beyond the capacity of the system. Imber (1982) points out rightly that one has to be realistic in planning curriculum change. The availability of resources and the context of change have to be taken into consideration. The advice to 'Start small, think big' by Fullan (1985) and Miles (1986) (quoted in Fullan et al., 1986) should be taken. Of course, in situations where the capacity for change is much better, the above proposition may not be applicable. For instance, in places where a long tradition of values teaching in curriculum subjects has been established, and teachers have rich experience, expertise and skills in values teaching in their subject, there is no reason why the integrated approach or the whole-school approach should not be practised.

C. DANGER OF INDOCTRINATION

Developing a moral education curriculum agreeable to all has been found to be an insurmountably difficult task (e.g. in Malaysia, (Mukherjee, 1983), Japan (Takahashi, 1988), England (Musgrave (1978)). Since Hong Kong is a cosmopolitan city with much interaction with other cultures, the indigenous Chinese culture has been strongly challenged by the influx of western ideologies and values. Amidst the diversity of cultural influences, a pluralistic society has evolved. In religious terms, Hong Kong is also pluralistic (Ng, 1988). No one single culture or religion has overwhelming dominance. The way the education system is run aggravates the problem of developing a universally acceptable moral education programme. A very large number of schools in Hong Kong are run and organised by a variety of charitable and religious bodies with varying aims. For example, some schools run by Protestant churches consider evangelizing the students as an important aim but those run by the charities are secular. The six largest religious bodies which formed a league and successfully pressed the government to officially advocate the revival of moral education, failed in their attempt to devise a common moral education curriculum to be used in all their schools. This suggests how difficult it is to work out a value-laden programme agreeable to a range of associations and groups.

The present study shows that the school-centred strategy is effective in easing the problem of conflicts among interest groups. By allowing the schools the freedom to design a programme which they feel is fitted to their background and the pupils' needs, the potential conflict in views between the central developers and the schools was resolved. This facilitated the adoption of the change.

This strategy is, however, prone to indoctrination. Under the school-centred strategy, a very high level of autonomy was granted to the schools and teachers. The central agency, without a well-

planned and clearly defined policy, refrained from any form of intervention or supervision. In Hong Kong, parents traditionally strongly respect the 'professional' judgment of the school authorities and the teachers. They seldom attempt to voice their opinions or influence curricular matters (Llewellyn et al., 1982). The school and the teachers, therefore, have virtually complete freedom to design and teach the moral education curriculum.

Under such conditions of development, School B, which had very clearly stated school aims and a team of staff with great homogeneity in values and beliefs, was in danger of indoctrinating their pupils in their moral teaching. Moral philosophers have not reached to a consensus on the criteria of indoctrination (see for example, White (1967) and Snook (1972)). Snook (1972) argues that indoctrination 'occurs when somebody takes advantage of a privileged role (a "teaching" role of some sort) to implant certain beliefs' (p.107) to the pupils 'with the intention that the pupil or pupils believe the beliefs regardless of the evidence' (p.47). If this definition of indoctrination is adopted, it can be said that teachers in School B were in possible danger of indoctrinating the pupils. The reasons are:

- a. The teachers and the school authority of School B shared the view that they should pass on to the pupils a set of religious doctrines and values. They had developed a moral education programme closely knitted to religious teaching.
- b. In moral education and religious education sessions, pupils were seldom exposed to other values, beliefs, views and attitudes. Even though in the lessons I observed, teachers did occasionally 'discuss' religious doctrines with the students in sixth form moral education lessons, they were actually trying to explain and clarify, rather than critically examine the doctrines. The teachers had never adopted a non-Christian stance to challenge the pupils' thinking and Christian values. The case of School B suggests an unanticipated result: the danger of indoctrination. Of course, not all schools fell into the same trap. Schools A and C, enjoying the same degree of autonomy, did not teach values in the same manner as School B. However, the single case of School B, vividly illustrates the fact that allowing schools complete freedom without any form of supervision, evaluation or guidance may generate undesirable effects in limiting pupils' choices. Furthermore, the proportion of secondary schools in Hong Kong run by the Christian churches is approximately 48% (Ng, 1988). Such a high figure suggests that if this indoctrination problem is not rare among these schools, it is worth the attention of moral educators and the central agency.

In view of the fact that Hong Kong is a pluralistic society made up of populations with different ethics, cultural backgrounds and religious beliefs, the religious schools in Hong Kong should adopt a more liberal view of religious education and moral education.

Ng has argued cogently that the task of religious schools,

'is not to lead pupils into any particular religious faith. It is, nevertheless, leading them to a journey of life, in which the pupils are guided, not to travel to the same destination, but indeed "to travel with a different view"' (1985, p.234-5).

III. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPERS

The low level of change found, despite all the hard work and devotion of the curriculum users in the schools studied, raises the question of the suitability of adopting a school-centred strategy in schools where the personnel do not have the necessary support, assistance and professional knowledge for the change. The school-centred strategy itself is not a panacea for all implementation problems.

‘Decentralization, does not, of itself, necessarily make organisations and systems more innovative’ (Hurst, 1983, p.5).

In recent years, there has been a tendency for the central agency in Hong Kong to move away from the centre-periphery curriculum development system. For example, civic education and sex education were implemented, in 1985 and 1986 respectively, in the same manner as moral education. Schools were granted great freedom to decide what to do and how to develop these two curriculum areas.

These school-centred curriculum changes, like the case of moral education, have not been backed up properly with assistance and support. Although the central agency is aware that there is a lack of trained staff with professional knowledge of civic education or sex education, efforts to provide staff development have been inadequate. There are neither extra staff, nor funds for schools to implement the change.

Another attempt by the central agency to modify the centre-periphery system was the setting up of an award scheme to encourage teachers and schools to develop school-based teaching materials in 1988. Unfortunately, support given to teachers involved in this award scheme is far from adequate (Wong, 1989). Essential resources like time for teachers to prepare their work, professional advice and clerical support are simply absent.

If the central agency cannot provide the essential support for individual schools because of scarcity of resources, would it not be better for the central agency to pool the limited resources on a regional basis? Would it help if a network was set up for groups of schools to exchange their materials and ideas? The comment by Kelly (1980) is applicable to Hong Kong,

‘there is the lack of ideas and inspiration which arises from the isolation of a school. Should not teachers have the benefits of shared experience and the product of work elsewhere?’ (p.77)

Adopting a school-based curriculum development strategy should not mean that the central agency just delegates all its responsibilities and stands back. Much better planning, preparation and support are necessary. Timar & Kirp (1988) remark,

‘It is not enough to simply give schools more autonomy; encouragement and support must come from the larger context of the state’ (p.135).

Teachers need support, guidance and direction. ‘Central office staff must take an active interest in them by providing direction, assistance, prodding and by expecting and asking for results’ (Fullan,

1985, p.403). Assistance such as developing high quality teaching materials can conserve schools' resources and teachers' energy. In cases where teachers have to develop materials from scratch, as in the case of moral education in Hong Kong,

'the teachers involved will be in the same position as any other author and publisher. This means that research will need to be done, content selected carefully; drafts prepared and proofs read; design and layout planned; and copyright permission obtained where needed' (Evans, 1984, p. 110).

Adapting teaching materials costs much less in terms of both time and resources.

The teachers studied, who had virtually no supply of teaching materials from the central agency or commercial publishers when the curriculum change was initiated and adopted, had to go through the painful process described above by Evans (1984). They were not proficient in exploring new sources of materials. Indeed, they found and used similar sources of raw materials. Although Olson (1977) has warned of the danger of overemphasising the development of materials as a means of influencing curriculum change, it is still worthwhile for central agency to consider providing assistance at the early stage of the implementation process, perhaps by publishing a comprehensive list of sources of teaching materials and developing a wide range of sample teaching materials which could be easily adapted. This may help ease teachers' workload and hence they would be more willing to adopt the moral education curriculum change. It is far too inefficient and wasteful for teachers to 'invent the wheel for so many times' (Kelly, 1980, p.77).

Teachers interviewed expressed the view that they would not only welcome sample teaching materials, which could be adapted for classroom use without much difficulty, but would have also benefited from practical guidance and advice from people who have expertise and professional knowledge and at the same time understand their situation. Other support such as staff development, extra staff to allow time for teachers to prepare their work, would definitely be helpful (these have been discussed in the previous section). Hurst (1983) argues for the importance of staff development. He writes,

'It is ... widely believed that decentralized systems are more flexible and adaptive than centralized ones ..., but ..., the empirical and theoretical literature does not sustain this view. It all depends on the quality and nature of the management that is available at local level. Local authorities may be able to identify and implement beneficial changes but they may alternatively be unaware of a need to change, or be inclined to pursue irrelevant and unproductive fads, or be administratively incompetent at turning good ideas into reality. Shifting the locus of decision making does not necessarily improve its quality. What is much more important is to ensure that at all levels of decision making, from school teacher to minister, people are given guidance and training to help them make wise choices, and, having made them, to carry them out' (p.20).

As a conclusion, I quote the following recommendation by Marsh & Stafford (1984) which is worthy of the attention of curriculum decision-makers in Hong Kong,

'school-based curriculum development is currently in vogue and details are provided about how this can be initiated and supported within a school. Attention has to be paid in particular to creating a conducive working climate, establishing links with various resource persons and being able to use a flexible problem-solving approach to particular curriculum planning problems' (p. 122).

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Implementing the moral education change in Hong Kong through a school-centred approach is handicapped by the fact that teachers are left to struggle and discover through trial and error what the innovation is about and how to develop it. This has led to inefficiency and serious implementation problems. Adopting a school-centred strategy sounds progressive and fashionable, but granting greater autonomy to schools and teachers does not automatically lead to success. Suitable resources have to be poured into schools so that school personnel can have the time, physical resources, teaching materials and other support necessary to put the plan into practice. It is irresponsible of the central agency to ask school personnel to implement a change without providing the support needed.

The present study has shown how moral education was developed in some secondary schools in Hong Kong. This, while helping to answer some questions on implementation, also points to directions for future research. An area worth pursuing is how moral education is implemented in conditions different from those studied in this research. For example, in Singapore, the central agency stresses the importance of moral education and has centrally developed some moral education curriculum materials which are disseminated to schools. Teacher training courses have been conducted. Data about the implementation process and the outcomes of this curriculum change would be useful for comparison and theory verification.

The strong influence of the culture of teaching on implementation has been underlined in this study. It seems that it may be a key to our understanding of the outcome of changes in schools. But sadly, inquiries into this area have been badly neglected in Hong Kong. More research in this area would improve our understanding of teachers' culture. With this insight, curriculum developers and leaders would be better equipped to bring about effective changes. It would be very interesting, for example, to see whether there are marked differences in 'culture' between science and arts teachers, men and women teachers, primary school and secondary school teachers.

Development in the economy, changes in the social structure, increasing interaction of cultures have meant that people are faced with more and more value dilemmas in their life. Moral education has been seen, in particular in Asia, as a means of easing the problem of value crisis. Hong Kong is no exception. Even though the call for changes in the moral education curriculum has been launched a decade ago, this study has revealed that there is still much room for improvement in moral education work in Hong Kong schools. The road ahead will not be smooth. However, there is no turning back. Moral education is of utmost importance to our young people who are exposed to many different value systems and they have the freedom to choose or develop their own value systems. Without high quality moral education which includes elements like exposure to information about values and building up of high analytical power, young people will not be able to develop positive attitudes and values towards life. School personnel, academics, curriculum developers and the central agency must therefore increase their efforts. Only with determined and coordinated effort will a large scale curriculum change, like the moral education one in Hong Kong, be implemented successfully and the students benefit from the change.

APPENDIX I ABBREVIATIONS USED

CDC: Curriculum Development Committee

E.D.: Education Department

General Guidelines: General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools

HKCE: Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination

HKEA: Hong Kong Examination Authority

ICAC: Independent Commission Against Corruption

HL: Higher Level Examination

AL: Advanced Level Examination

APPENDIX II

THE CONTENT OF THE MORAL EDUCATION CURRICULA OF THE THREE CASE STUDY SCHOOLS

SCHOOL A 1986-87 SOCIAL EDUCATION

FORM ONE

1. Getting to know each other and introducing the F.1 'Encouragement Scheme'
2. Getting to know the school
3. Life of a Form One student
4. Thinking about sportsmanship
5. How to organise my school life: study and extra-curricular activities
6. Getting to know our Student union
7. The relationship between teachers and pupils
8. Thinking about school rules
9. Learning how to study and prepare for examination
10. Thinking about school uniform
11. How to make good use of our leisure time and the student union
12. Understanding myself
13. Understanding friendship and friends
14. Caring for public property
15. Thinking about pocket money
16. Understanding the Daya Bay Nuclear Plant Project and the nuclear energy issue
17. Learning about food and health
18. Why do some people feel inferior?
19. The abilities we are born with
20. What happens to me at puberty
21. What my family means to me
22. How I view foul language
23. Unhealthy comics with violent themes
24. Understanding trial societies
25. Thinking about safety in the home
26. Understanding oral hygiene
27. How to make choices
28. Writing a letter to classmates who are leaving us

FORM TWO

1. Getting to know each other
2. Understanding justice in school
3. Understanding justice in society
4. Understanding justice in family
5. Psychological test
6. How to make friends
7. How to communicate with people
8. Understanding the generation gap
9. Understanding my body
10. Understanding myself and others
11. Understanding love
12. Understanding fantasy and day dreaming
13. Understanding my emotions
14. Understanding the influence of my peers
15. Let's look at the meaning and influence of pop songs
16. Let's look at the meaning and influence of television
17. Understanding trial societies
18. Learning about health
19. Learning about drugs

20. Learning how to study
21. The relationship between teachers and pupils
22. Understanding our value system
23. Getting to know our Student Union
24. How to avoid making mistakes
25. The 'dawn' of peace
26. Understanding sex and life
27. Understanding physiological changes of adolescents
28. Understanding sex fantasy

FORM THREE

1. Getting to know each other
2. How mature are we?
3. Searching for my ideal
4. Understand myself
5. How do I value myself?
6. The importance of the family to young people
7. How to prepare for the Scaling Test
8. Learning about how to study and prepare for examinations
9. Which stream should I choose in Form Four: Arts, Science or Commerce?
10. Career prospects of Form Three school leavers
11. Thinking about capital punishment
12. Thinking about harmony and friendship
13. Understanding suicide
14. Understanding the Daya Bay Nuclear Plant Project and the nuclear energy issue
15. Understanding my value system
16. Understanding mental health
17. Understanding psychiatric illness
18. Learning to read newspapers
19. Learning about consumer education
20. Should we wear school uniform?
21. How to build up friendship
22. Thinking about dating
23. Understanding friendship
24. Understanding the importance of money
25. Learning about decision-making
26. A first lesson in democracy
27. Learning about our Student Union
28. Understanding smoking
29. Understanding pre-marital sex and abortion
30. Clarifying one's sex values

FORM FOUR

1. Getting to know each other
2. How adaptable am I?
3. The crisis of this generation: making moral choice
4. I don't like people to make jokes on me!
5. My rights and responsibilities
6. Study skills
7. The meaning of education
8. Thinking about happiness
9. Is life a curse or a blessing?
10. Hopes comes after failure
11. 'Love story'
12. Thinking methods
13. Problem solving techniques
14. The meaning and influence of pop songs

15. Thinking about my life style
16. Learning about pollution
17. Learning about famine
18. Learning about the law and us
19. Understanding Hong Kong people
20. The problem of food shortage in the world
21. Equality between man and woman
22. Understanding homosexuality
23. Learning about venereal disease
24. Teacher's Post (the teacher answers questions raised by the pupils)
25. Why do we need a government?
26. The political system of Hong Kong
27. Understanding the Daya Bay Nuclear Plant Project and the nuclear energy issue
28. The structure of our society
29. Our Student Union
30. Social problems and how they affect us

FORM FIVE

1. Getting to know each other
2. How to face the School Certificate Examination
3. Problem solving techniques
4. Preparing for examinations
5. How to succeed in examinations
6. How to tackle examination pressure
7. How to face the results of the public examination
8. Career information for Form Five graduates
9. How to apply for jobs
10. Attitudes towards work
11. Why do people get marry?
12. Preparing for marriage
13. How to be a parent
14. An individual within the system
15. Understanding the Daya Bay Nuclear Plant Project and the nuclear energy issue
16. Learning about the Basic Law
17. The 'Dawn' of the 'Great Battle' (the School Certificate Examination)

FORM SIX

1. Getting to know each other
2. Caring about our society
3. Learning about counselling skills
4. Getting to know our Student Union
5. Understanding love and friendship
6. Learning about Democracy
7. The characteristics of Hong Kong society
8. Open up your perspective
9. Learning about world affairs
10. Understanding the Daya Bay Nuclear Plant and the nuclear energy issue
11. What is the fourth channel?
12. Understanding the value of human rights
13. Understanding moral judgement
14. Learning about sexuality
15. The views of Chinese people towards sex
16. Thinking about beauty contest

FORM SEVEN

1. Getting to know each other
2. What is homosexuality?
3. Why do people get marry?
4. How to be a good parent
5. Learning communication skills (by V. Satir)
6. Choosing a career
7. Understanding the Daya Bay Nuclear Plant Project and the nuclear energy issue
8. Learning about the Basic Law and Democracy

SCHOOL B

1978-88 CHRISTIAN ETHICS

FORM ONE

I. BIBLICAL KNOWLEDGE SECTION

1. What is the Bible? How the Bible was passed on from the past?
2. Creation of the world
3. The Fall of Man
4. The Great Flood
5. The faith of Abraham
6. Joseph and his brothers
7. Joseph as a senior official
8. Moses leading the Israelis out of Egypt
9. The Passover
10. Moses and the Ten Commandments
11. David and Goliath

II. MORAL EDUCATION SECTION

1. School rules and our school ethos
2. Balancing discipline and freedom
3. Treating people courteously
4. Caring for others
5. Interpersonal relationships
6. Preparing for examinations and tests
7. The meaning of chivalry
8. Mass culture: Pop music & singers; 'pop' publications (comics)

FORM TWO

I. BIBLICAL KNOWLEDGE SECTION

1. The birth of Jesus Christ
2. Jesus was baptised and was tempted
3. The Good Samaritans
4. The parable of the prodigal son
5. The parable of the mustard seed
6. Jesus's power over Nature: calming the Tempest
7. Jesus's power to forgive sin
8. Jesus's power over evil Spirits
9. Jesus's power of health: the Paralytic
10. Jesus's trial, crucification and burial
11. The resurrection of Jesus

II. MORAL EDUCATION SECTION

1. Psychological development in adolescence
2. Knowing oneself; self-awareness
3. Learning about our emotion
4. Learning about our sex
5. Learning about our family life
6. Understanding gambling
7. Understanding money
8. Knowing our community

FORM THREE

1. How true is the Bible?
2. Actively participate in the school life
3. Abraham: an example of Faith
4. Developing self-confidence
5. Nehemia: follow the mass, destruction and construction
6. The functions of TV
7. TV culture: is it good or bad?
8. How to make friends
9. The meaning of Christmas
10. Interpersonal relationships
11. Jesus Christ—how he served the people
12. Good manners and civic consciousness
13. Peter: a bad-tempered and reckless man
14. The meaning of Easter
15. Dating and love: I
16. Dating and love: II
17. Eradicating drug abuse
18. Choosing a career
19. Experience sharing: church and school life

FORM FOUR

1. What is 'truth'?
2. Belief & superstition
3. What is life?
4. The purposes of life
5. Fortune telling (controlling one's life)
6. The nature and the result of Sin
7. The value of man
8. The value of man in the eyes of God
9. Fully utilise your ability
10. The culture of advertising
11. What is authority?
12. How to get along with others: being accepted or being rejected
13. How to get along with others
14. Cooperation and responsibility
15. Freedom and restriction
16. Helping one another
17. Civil rights and responsibilities: the spirit of serving others
18. Giving is better than receiving

FORM FIVE

1. Understanding oneself
2. The meaning of life and religion

3. Use what you have learnt
4. What is life?
5. How to use your time
6. Is there a god?
7. How to find a job
8. A study of the life of Robert Morrison
9. Interpersonal relationships
10. The 'Future'
11. Dating and marriage
12. What is a sense of responsibility?
13. Looking at gambling
14. Caring for our community

FORM SIX

1. The characteristics of Christian Ethics
2. Is it fashionable to hold principles of conduct?
3. 'Guidelines' on Love
4. A look at the racial discrimination against refugees
5. Thinking about family life
6. Why is the Bible so important?
7. Thinking about money
8. What is addiction?
9. Jesus—who is He and why we worship Him?
10. Attitudes towards time and leisure
11. The meaning of community services
12. Understanding politics
13. Understanding pornography and sex
14. Science vs. religious beliefs
15. Poverty of individuals and the world poverty problem
16. Censorship and freedom
17. Introducing a religion (other than Christianity)
18. Chinese culture and Christianity
19. A look at the corruption problem
20. Understanding capital punishment
21. How to face difficulties
22. God and the meaning of Salvation

FORM SEVEN

1. The characteristics of Christian ethics
2. Understanding situational ethics
3. Understanding friendship
4. Love and Marriage
5. Understanding divorce
6. Learning to cope with pressure
7. The resurrection of Jesus: believe it or not
8. Unwanted life: abortion
9. Planning one's career
10. Learning about work ethics
11. Creationism and evolutionism
12. Understanding euthanasia
13. Introducing a religion (other than Christianity)
14. Crime and punishment
15. Looking at gambling
16. Learning about ancestral worship
17. War and peace
18. How to cope with difficulties

SCHOOL C

1987-88 MORAL EDUCATION

FORM ONE

SELF

Understanding yourself

Cultivate a sense of belonging

How to be accepted by others

Be courteous

What is courtesy?

Pocket money: saving is a good habit

Helping each other

Helping others is the source of happiness (joining volunteer work)

Health is our greatest wealth

Use our leisure time wisely

FAMILY LIFE

Family life education: parental love

Family : relationship with family members

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

What is a 'good friend'?

Youth and peer group

Relationship with classmates

SCHOOL LIFE

How to adapt to secondary school life

The relationship between teachers and pupils

Respect school rules

The importance of extra-curricular activities

The key to study skills

CAREER

SEX EDUCATION

The physiological and psychological characteristics of adolescence

The problem of dating

CIVIC EDUCATION (COMMUNITY LIFE)

We are elements of a society (the relationship between an individual and the society)

The rights and responsibilities of a citizen

RELIGIOUS

OTHERS

First aid knowledge

Course evaluation

FORM TWO

SELF

Understanding yourself

Money isn't everything....(what are other important values besides money?)

FAMILY LIFE

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Interpersonal relationships

SCHOOL LIFE

The individual and school (the relationship between students and school)

Studying and examination

CAREER

SEX EDUCATION

The problem of dating and adolescence

CIVIC EDUCATION (COMMUNITY LIFE)

Mass media (the impact and harmful effects of mass media)

Triad societies and the bad 'elements' (pupils) in school

Drug abuse

RELIGIOUS

OTHERS

Course evaluation

FORM THREE

SELF

The importance of wealth in life (the conflict between doing right and making money, Is money all powerful? Is money the root of all evils?)

Attitudes towards life (the goals of life, our responsibilities and obligations, serving other people, how to cope with competition in life)

FAMILY LIFE

Family life (how to get along with family members, the problem of the generation gap)

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Interpersonal relationships (the 'art' of communication, how to get along with people)

SCHOOL LIFE

Introduction: introducing the moral education curriculum

Getting to know each other (get pupils to know each other)

What you should know about the Student Union election

CAREER

Choosing a job (knowing oneself, principles which one should adopt when choosing a job)

Further study (which stream should I choose, arts or science?)

SEX EDUCATION

Adolescence (the physiological and psychological characteristics of adolescents, dating)

CIVIC EDUCATION (COMMUNITY LIFE)

Current affairs and social problems of Hong Kong

RELIGIOUS

OTHERS

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